

James R. Deane

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
GENERAL REBELLION
IN
IRELAND.

RAISED UPON

The Three and Twentieth Day of OCTOBER, 1641.

Together with the

Barbarous CRUELITIES and Bloody MASSACRES which
ensued thereupon.

Published in the Year 1695, by Sir JOHN TEMPLE, Knight,
Master of the Rolls, and one of His Majesty's most Honourable
Privy Council within the Kingdom of IRELAND.

The SEVENTH EDITION.

To which is added,

Sir HENRY TICHBORNE's HISTORY of the
SIEGE of DROGHEDA, in the Year 1641.

As also, The whole Tryal of CONNOR Lord MAC-
GUIRE, with the perfect Copies of the Indictment,
and all the Evidences against him. Together with the
POPE's Bull to the Confederate CATHOLICKS in
IRELAND.

C O R R E C T.

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THE P R E F A C E.

I HAVE here adventured to present unto publick view, the beginnings and first progress of the Rebellion lately raised within this Kingdom of Ireland. And although I cannot but take notice of such a multitude of imperfections in my self as render me very unfit for the performance of this service: as also, that I shall thereby raise up much malice, and private displeasure, as well against my person, as my undertakings herein; yet such is my zeal and most earnest desire to appear in this cause, as being now laid aside, and for the present disabled in any other way to be further useful to this unhappy kingdom, I resolved to deny myself, and wholly departing from my own interests, to employ my weak endeavours, in setting down the sad story of our miseries. I might, peradventure, with much more advantage to my own particular have looked back, (as far wiser men have done in their troubles) and passed my time in foreign collections, or penning some story of times long since past, where the chief actors are at rest, and their unquiet spirits so surely laid, as they are not to be moved with the sharpest charge that can be laid on their memories; *Nulli gravis est percussus Achilles*. Most men are great lovers of themselves, and such constant admirers of their own actions, as they think they do well to be angry at any thing that shall

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though

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(though never so truly) be reported to their disadvantage; They consider not their own natural imbecillities, their passions, distempers, or ill affections, which lead them on to advise or act things of an ill fame; but are ready to fly in the faces of those who shall even in the fairest characters represent or leave any impressions of them. Hence it is that the truth of things comes quite to be overshadowed with false colours, and so to remain as it were buried alive, or otherwise to appear extremely disfigured through gross errors, base flattery, or wilful mistakes. For most men that are present adventurers in this kind, are wise enough to apprehend their own danger; and thereupon departing from the common interest that every other man hath in their story, reflect only upon their own particular, and suffer themselves to be over-awed with the humour of the present times; or so far transported, either with the benefits or private injuries received from particular persons, as they transmit very imperfect and weaker relations, or otherwise fill them up with such counterfeit stuff, as posterity will owe little to their information.

Memoires
du Mon-
sieur du
Plessis,
fol. 45.

Monsieur du Plessis, a person of extraordinary abilities and learning, a great minister of state under that glorious king, Henry the 4th of France, undertook, as it appears by a letter of his to monsieur Languet, to write a story of those times wherein he lived. But I cannot find that he ever suffered that work to come to the press; whether by just apprehensions discouraged from publication, or whether it otherwise miscarried, I cannot say. But sure I am, in the same letter he bitterly declaims against the humour of the times, and there plainly tells us, that after one hath writ

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writ an history, he dares not adventure the publishing of it. *Si non qu'il allegue pour cause d'un effect, (ce qui n'a pas esté,) comme une cause genereuse, au lieu de l'amour d'une femme, & d'une querelle de bordeau.* Such was then the iniquity of those times, so abominable and shameful the true causes of the imbroilments in that kingdom, that those wars (as the court was then governed) had for the most part their first beginnings from some ill placed affection, or a private quarrel in an infamous place. And further speaking on this subject, he intimates how dangerous it is to set forth the actions of men in their true colours; and how bitter and corroding to the conscience of an historian to disguise or make them appear otherwise to the world, than they were in their first original.

To speak truth exactly, is highly commendable in any man, especially in one that takes upon him to be a publick informer: to raze, to corrupt a record is a crime of a very high nature, and by the laws of the land most severely punishable. Histories are called *Testes temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoria*: and certainly he doth offend in an high degree, who shall either negligently suffer or wilfully procure them to bring false evidence; that shall make them dark lanthorns to give light but on the one side, or as *Ignes fatui*, to cause the reader to wander from the truth, and vainly to follow false shadows, or the factious humours of the writer's brain. To be false, to deceive, to lie, even in ordinary discourse, are vices commonly branded with much infamy, and held in great detestation by all good men. And therefore certainly those that arrive at such a height of impudency, as

Cicero de
Orat.

magisterially to take upon them, not only to abuse the present but future ages, must needs render themselves justly odious. They stand responsible for other mens errors; and whereas in all other notorious offenders, their sin and their life determines at farthest together, the sin of these men is perpetuated after their decease, they speak when they are dead; make false infusions into every age, and court every new person that shall many years after cast his eyes upon their story to give belief to their lies. Therefore for my own part when I first undertook this task, I took up with it a resolution most clearly to declare the truth. I have cast up my accounts, I have set up my rest, and determine rather to displease any other man than offend my own conscience. I have neither private reflections, nor foreign ends; I am now as it were reduced into my first principles, and have taken this work upon me; meerly out of publick considerations. All that I aim at is, that there may remain for the benefit of this present age, as well as of posterity, some certain records and monuments of the first beginnings and fatal progress of this rebellion, together with the horrid cruelties most unmercifully exercised by the Irish rebels upon the British and protestants within this kingdom of Ireland. That when God's time is come of returning it into the bosoms of those who have been the first plotters or present actors therein, and that kingdom comes to be re-planted with British, and settled in peace again, (which I have even in our lowest condition, with great confidence attended, and do now most undoubtedly believe will e're long be brought to pass) there may be such a course taken, such provisions made, and such a wall of separation

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paration set up betwixt the Irish and the British, as it shall not be in their power to rise up (as now and in all former ages they have done) to destroy and root them out in a moment, before they be able to put themselves in a posture of defence, or to gather together to make any considerable resistance against their bloody attempts.

I shall not pretend to entertain the reader with political maxims, grave sentences, or flourishing orations: that which I hope will cover over a multitude of imperfections, is the unquestionable truth of what I shall set down in a plain and brief narration of all the causes and proceedings held in the raising, as also in the first counsels and undertakings for the suppression of this hideous rebellion.

And that I might in some measure compass my design herein, and give satisfaction even to the most curious inquirers after truth, I did with great care and diligence turn over the very originals or authentical copies of the voluminous examinations remaining with the public register, and taken upon oath, by virtue of two several commissions issued out under the great seal of this kingdom, to examine the losses of the British, the cruelties and horrid murders committed by the Irish in the destruction of them. I have perused the public dispatches, acts, and relations, as likewise the private letters and particular discourses sent by the chief gentlemen out of several parts of the kingdom, to present unto the lords justices and council the sad condition of their affairs. And having been made acquainted with all the most secret passages and councils of the state, I have, as far as I could, without breach of trust, and as the duty of a privy counsellor would ad-
mit

mit, communicated so much of them as I conceived necessary and proper for public information. And setting aside the particulars contained within the first pages, leading on by way of introduction to the ensuing troubles, which I have taken upon trust out of the most approved authors both ancient and modern, who have written the story of Ireland, I may confidently avow, that I have been so curious in gathering up my materials, and so careful in putting them together, as very few passages will be found here inserted which have not either fallen within the compass of my own knowledge, or that I have not received from those who were chiefly intrusted in matters of action abroad; or that came not to my hands attested under the oaths of credible witnesses, or clearly asserted in the voluntary confessions of the rebels themselves.

Every man, I believe, will easily assent unto me, that out of these fountains we may presume with most certainty to draw truth, and that if we bound our enquiries within this circuit, we may well hope to arrive at the true knowledge of the main particular passages of this late rebellion. And therefore though I shall not obtrude every thing as infallible, which by a strict and most severe inquisition, I have taken upon the grounds before mentioned (considering how subject men are through forgetfulness and humane imbecillity to err in the ordinary course of their relations) yet thus much I suppose I may confidently say, that no man could imagine how to make collections with greater certainty, and more clear unquestionable probabilities of truth than I have here set down. Now

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Now as for the examinations here mentioned, howsoever they were taken with all the care and circumspection that could possibly be used in so great a work, yet are they most commonly decried, and held by the Irish as very injurious to their country-men. Thus much I shall be bold to aver, and shall here speak it for the better authority and credit of the evidence brought in by them;

First, That as the commissions for taking those examinations were after mature deliberation issued out by special order from the lords justices and council; so they were in great wisdom designed by them for no other ends than to have some general account of the losses suffered by the British, and the cruelties exercised by the Irish upon them in the several parts of the kingdom. And this course was first set on foot in the very height of our troubles, when the fury of the rebels so desperately raged, as they were in no condition to think of the attaining of their persons, and therefore only aimed at the discovery of their treason. Out of which respect chiefly the commissioners made choice of for the performance of this service, were six of the clergy, all persons of known integrity; and such as by reason of their profession, would in all probability gently proceed on in their inquisitions, and truly set down the bloody relations given in unto them: the persons examined were of several conditions, most of them British, some of Irish birth and extraction, very many of good quality, and such as were of inferior rank were not rejected if they were known sufferers, and came freely in to declare what they could speak of their own knowledge. Few came but such as had been in the hands of the rebels,
and

and could with sorrowful hearts make the sad relation of their own miseries: and so they having been eye-witnesses, their depositions are for the most part out of their own knowledge; and what is given in by them upon hear-say, they for the most part depose, that they received it out of the rebels own mouths while they were in restraint among them. Lastly, many of these miserable persons thus examined, came up wounded, others even almost famished; or so worn out with their sufferings, as they did not long out-live the date of their examinations: so as these testimonies being delivered in their last agonies, we are in charity to believe that they would leave behind them with all due circumstances, a clear attestation of such cruelties as they then bequeathed unto us with their last breath.

* But it is not much to be wondred, if they who had it in design to destroy all the public records and ancient monuments in the kingdom, to banish both the English law, and government, do so bitterly declaim against these evidences of their cruelty, and lively attestations given in to perpetuate the memory of them to their eternal infamy.

If they could imagine which way to silence, or by what means to blast the credit of these examinations thus solemnly taken, and prevail according to their most impetuous desires upon the late treaty of peace, to have all the indictments legally put in against the principal rebels and their adherents, taken off the

* Mr. Creighton in his examination deposeth, that he heard many bitter words cast out against the city of Dublin, that they would burn and ruin it, destroy all records and monuments of the English government; make laws against speaking English, and that all names given by the English to places, should be abolished, and the ancient names restored.

the file and cancelled, they would not be out of hope, as these times now are, to palliate their rebellion with such specious pretences, as that their barbarous cruelties, acted beyond all parallel, being forgotten, it should with great applause pass down to posterity, under the name of a holy and just war for the defence of the catholic cause.

And now in order to this design, they have taken all occasions to proclaim the huge pressures which they pretend to have suffered under the late government in this kingdom, and spare not to term it tyrannical: they speak as if their oppressions might be paralleled with the Israelitish Envasalage in the land of Ægypt, and their persecutions, for religion equalled to those of the primitive times: and then they further say, that thereupon only some catholicks, considering the deplorable and desperate condition they were in, and apprehending the plots laid to extinguish their religion, and nation, did take arms in the North in maintenance of their religion, and for the preservation of life, liberty, and estate; together with his majesty's rights: and that the lords and gentlemen dwelling within the English Pale, were likewise by the great rigour and severity used by the state towards them, enforced to take up arms for their own defence.

These are the expressions and the language used in the late remonstrance given in to his majesty's commissioners at Trym, to be presented to his majesty in behalf of his catholick subjects in Ireland. Wherein there are pieced together so many vain inconsiderable fancies, many subsequent passages acted in the prosecution of the war and such bold, notorious, false assertions, without any the least ground or

colour

A remonstrance of grievances presented to his Majesty in behalf of the Catholicks of Ireland, and given in to his Majesty's Commissioners at Trym, March 17, 1642.

colour of truth; as without all doubt they absolutely resolved, first to raise this rebellion, and then to set their lawyers and clergy on work, to frame such reasons and motives as might with some colour or justification serve for arguments to defend it. And it is indeed, to speak plainly, a most infamous pamphlet, full fraught with scandalous aspersions cast upon the present government, and his majesty's principal officers of state within this kingdom. It was certainly framed with most virulent intentions, not to present their condition and present sufferings to his majesty, but that it might be dispersed to gain belief among foreign states abroad as well as discontented persons at home; and so draw assistance and aid, to foment and strengthen their rebellious party in Ireland.

But I do not much wonder they should take thus upon them to abuse the world with such scurrilous discourses, and thereby endeavour to raise some ground or belief that they had just cause to enter into so desperate a rebellion. This hath been an ordinary course ever-held in all designs of this nature, And it is well observed by *Polybius*, that there are commonly to be found in all such great undertakings, *Causa suaseria*, and *causa justificata*. The first, such as are the true natural causes, and really first in the intention; the other, such as are most commonly obtruded to the world by way of cover and justification. Now as the nature of water is most clearly seen in the first fountain, where it remains pure and unmixed, without any dross or soil that it afterwards contracts, as it passeth along in the streams derived from it: so certainly the quality of all human actions is best understood, and most clearly discerned, when
we

we look upon them as they appear in their first original, before the inconveniencies and fatal miscarriages which afterwards come to be discovered, awake the first projectors, and teach them new artifices wherewith they disguise and colour over their abortive, or otherwise unfortunate counsels. Now as for the true saasorian causes (if I may so term them) which induced the Irish to lay the plot of this rebellion, and were indeed really first in their thoughts, they will sufficiently appear in this ensuing story. And for the justificial reasons of their rising in arms, if any one hath a mind to take them up on trust from themselves, let him seek no further than the remonstrance before-mentioned; whereof much more is to be said than I shall give myself liberty to speak in this place: well knowing that those notorious untruths and wicked impostures contained in it when they come to the test, will be quickly discovered, and the varnish they have put upon them soon fall away of itself.

If any one hath been ignorantly deluded hereby, and desires to be rectified in his own judgment, let him be pleased to turn over this ensuing story.

Verum est Index sui & obliqui:

There needs certainly no other confutation of their false and virulent suggestions, than a true impartial relation of the first beginnings and progress of this rebellion: which for what was acted within the space of the first two months after the breaking out of it, I presume I may say without vanity, he shall certainly find here. It is true, I have principally applied myself to give an account of what was done about Dublin, the chief city of this kingdom, and the place where the lords justices and council continued using their utmost

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most power and endeavours to oppose the fury of the rebels. Yet as all other parts of the kingdom were under their government, and their care and counsels (as far as their general distractions would admit) extended to the whole, what was acted in all other places of the country, comes properly to be touched upon, and the miserable condition of them to be represented in this following story.

I shall not here trouble the reader with any further apology for myself, or with excuses for the multitude of my own imperfections, which will here appear in large characters; and will be peradventure looked upon with a multiplying glass, by those who are not pleased with what I have here exposed to public view. I do not at all pretend to silence the bitter expressions of malevolent spirits: as I shall with great patience compose myself to bear the utmost that their malice can put upon me: so I shall be always ready with much meekness to submit to be reformed by any person whatsoever, who can make it appear, that I have either through ignorance or negligence (for I am sure wilful mistakes they will find none) miscarried in the relation of any particular here set down: sins of ignorance found a very easy expiation under the old law, I will not say they had a pardon of course: But if I have so carried myself, as that no greater transgressions can be laid to my charge, I shall be much satisfied, and may peradventure be further encouraged to proceed on to a continuation of this story, and therein to transmit down to posterity the noble achievements and great victories already obtained by small numbers of the English forces over huge multitudes of these Irish rebels.

A N



AN ACT made in the fourteenth and fifteenth years of king Charles II. for keeping and celebrating the three and twentieth day of October, as an anniversary thanksgiving in this kingdom

“ **W**HEREAS many malignant and
 “ rebellious papists and jesuits, fri-
 “ ers, seminary priests and other superstitious
 “ orders of the popish pretended clergy, most
 “ disloyally, treacherously and wickedly con-
 “ spired to surprize his majesty's castle of
 “ Dublin, his majesty's principal fort of this
 “ kingdom of Ireland, the city of Dublin,
 “ and all other cities and fortifications of
 “ this realm, and that all the protestants and
 “ English throughout the whole kingdom
 “ that would not join with them should be
 “ cut off, and finally by a general rebellion,
 “ to deprive our late sovereign lord of ever-
 “ blessed memory king Charles the first of
 “ this his antient and rightful crown and so-
 “ vereignty of this kingdom, and to possess
 “ themselves thereof, all which was by the
 “ said conspirators plotted and intended to
 “ be acted on the three and twentieth day of
 “ October, in the year of our Lord God one
 “ thousand six hundred forty and one, a
 “ conspiracy so generally inhuman, barba-
 “ rous and cruel, as the like was never before
 “ heard of in any age or kingdom, and if it
 “ had taken effect in that fulness which was
 “ intended by the conspirators, it had occa-
 “ sioned the utter ruin of this whole king-
 “ dom, and the government thereof. And
 “ however it pleased Almighty God in his
 “ unfearchable wisdom and justice as a just
 “ punishment, and deserved correction to his
 “ people

AN ACT FOR CELEBRATING

“ people for their sins, and the sins of this
 “ kingdom, to permit then and afterwards
 “ the effecting of a great part of that destruc-
 “ tion conspired by those wicked conspira-
 “ tors, whereby many thousand British and
 “ protestants have been massacred, many
 “ thousands of others of them have been af-
 “ flicted and tormented with the most exqui-
 “ site torments that malice could suggest,
 “ and all mens estates as well those whom
 “ they barbarously murdered, as all other
 “ good subjects were wasted, ruined and de-
 “ stroyed, yet as his divine majesty hath in
 “ all ages shewn his power and mercy in the
 “ miraculous and gracious deliverance of his
 “ church, and in the protection of religious
 “ kings and states, so even in the midst of
 “ his justice he was graciously pleased to ex-
 “ tend mercy to his majesty and to this his
 “ kingdom, and good subjects therein, not
 “ only in merciful discovering to the then
 “ lords justices by one Owen O Connely a
 “ meer Irish man, but trained up in the pro-
 “ testant religion, who out of a sense of his
 “ duty and loyalty to his majesty, and for
 “ the preservation of his good people, and
 “ as an effect of that religion he was trained
 “ up in, revealed that hideous and bloody
 “ treason, not many hours before the ap-
 “ pointed time for the execution thereof, but
 “ also in preserving the said castle and city of
 “ Dublin, and some other cities, towns and
 “ castles in the kingdom from the bloody
 “ hands of the barbarous conspirators, as also
 “ in thereby rendring deliverance of the lives
 “ of the said lords justices and council, and
 “ of all the British and protestants in Dublin,
 “ and in the said other cities, towns and
 “ castles

THE TWENTY-THIRD OF OCTOBER.

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“ castles preserved, and of sundry other British and protestants fallen into the hands of those rebellious conspirators, and likewise in sending us succours out of England hither, by the piety, care and wisdom of our late sovereign lord king Charles the first, whereby with God’s blessing the good subjects of this kingdom have hitherto continued safe under his mighty protection, notwithstanding the unexampled rage and implacable malice of those merciless rebels. Wherefore as we do most humbly and justly acknowledge God’s justice in our deserved punishments in those calamities, which from the counsels and actions of those conspirators and their adherents have fallen upon us in this kingdom in general, so we do in like manner acknowledge, that even in exercising of that his justice he remembered mercy also, and magnified his mercies to us in those great blessings which we humbly confess to have proceeded meerly from his infinite goodness and mercy. And therefore to his most holy name we do ascribe all honour, glory and praise, and to the end this unfeigned thankfulness may never be forgotten, but may be had in a perpetual remembrance, that all ages to come may yield praises to his divine majesty for the same, and have in memory that joyful day of deliverance. Be it therefore enacted by the king’s most excellent majesty, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the three and twentieth day of October shall be kept, and celebrated as an anniversary holy day in this kingdom

AN ACT FOR CELEBRATING, &c.

“ for ever, and that all persons do at that day
 “ forbear all bodily labour, and the exercise
 “ of their trades, and that all and singular
 “ ministers in every cathedral and parish
 “ church, or other usual place for common
 “ prayer within this realm of Ireland, shall
 “ always upon the three and twentieth day
 “ of October, say morning prayer, and give
 “ thanks to Almighty God for that most hap-
 “ py and miraculous deliverance and prefer-
 “ vation, far above the expectations of those
 “ wretched conspirators. And that all and
 “ every person and persons inhabiting within
 “ this realm of Ireland, shall yearly upon the
 “ three and twentieth day of October dili-
 “ gently and faithfully resort to the parish
 “ church or chapel accustomed, or to some
 “ usual church or chapel where the said morn-
 “ ing prayer, preaching, or other service of
 “ God shall be used, and then and there abide
 “ orderly and soberly during the time of the
 “ said prayers, preaching or other service of
 “ God there to be used and ministered, and
 “ because all and every person may be put in
 “ mind of his duty, and be then the better
 “ prepared to the said holy service: Be it
 “ enacted by the authority aforesaid, that
 “ every minister shall give warning to his pa-
 “ rishioners publickly in the church at morn-
 “ ing prayer the Lord’s day next before
 “ every such three and twentieth day of Oc-
 “ tober, for the due observation of the said
 “ day; and that after morning prayer or
 “ preaching upon every such three and twen-
 “ tieth day of October, they read publickly,
 “ distinctly and plainly this present act.



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THE
IRISH REBELLION:

OR, AN
HISTORY of the BEGINNINGS,
AND FIRST
Progress of the General Rebellion

Raised within the
KINGDOM of IRELAND, in the Year 1641.

THE kingdom of Ireland (which hath
for almost five hundred years continued under the sovereignty of the crown of England) was presently after the first conquest of it, planted with English colonies, long since worn out, or for the most part become Irish. And therefore it hath again in this last age been supplied with great numbers of people drawn out of England and Scotland, to settle their habitations in that country. Now the most execrable plot laid by the Irish, for the universal extirpation of all these british and protestants, the bloody
B progress

1641.

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progress of their rebellion within the compass of the first two months; their horrid cruelties, in most barbarously murdering, or otherwise destroying many thousands of men, women and children, peaceably settled, and securely intermixed amongst them, and that without any provocation, or considerable resistance at first made, I intend shall be the present subject of the first part of this ensuing story.

The original of the Irish,

The Irish want not many fabulous inventions to magnifie the very first beginnings of their nation. Whether the Scythians, Gauls, Africans, Goths, or some other more eastern nation that anciently inhabited Spain, came and fate down first in Ireland, I shall not much trouble myself here to enquire. If we should give credit to the Irish chronicles or their bards (who deliver no certain truths) we might find stuff enough for an ancient pedigree, made up out of a most various strange compofure of the Irish Nation: But to let them pass, there are certainly a concurrence of divers manners and customs, such affinity of several of their words and names, and so great resemblance of many long used rites, and still retained ceremonies as do give us some ground to believe that they do not improbably deduce their first original from some of those people. It may very well be conjectured (for infallible records I find none) that as the eastern parts of Ireland, bordering upon England were first planted by the old Britains: * Toole, Birne and Cauvenagh the ancient septs, and still inhabitants of that part of

* Tools of the old Britain word toll, a hill country.
Brine



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of the country, being old British words. And as the northren parts of Ireland were first inhabited by the Scythians, from whom it was called § Seytenland, or Scotland: so the southren and more western parts thereof were peopled from the maritime parts of Spain, being the next continent, not by the now Spanish nation, who are strangely compounded of a different mixture of several people: But as I said, peradventure by the Gauls, who anciently inhabited all the sea-coasts of Spain the Syrians, or some other of those more eastern nations, who intermixing with the natural inhabitants of that country, made a transmigration into Ireland, and so settled some colonies there.

The whole kingdom of Ireland was divided into divers petty principalities, of later times there were five principal chieftains, viz. Mac-Morough of Leinster, Mac-Cartye of Munster, O Neal of Ulster, O Connor of Conaght, and O Malaghlín of Meath. For such were the Irish denominations, and I do not find they were called kings till about the time of the coming over of the English; Giraldus Cambrensis who came into Ireland in the time of Henry II. of England, being the first writer that gives them that title. Besides, as they came not in either by hereditary right or lawful election, so their investiture was solemnized,

Ireland anciently divided into divers petty principalities.

Brine of Brin, woods. Cauvenagh of Canve strong. The view of Ireland by Spencer f. 33.

§ Ireland is often called Scotia major among ancient writers.

† Isti reges non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alienjus ordinis

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zed neither by unction, or coronation, they made their way by the sword, had certain kinds of barbarous ceremonies used at their inauguration, kept up their power with a high hand, and held the people most monstrously enslaved to all the savage customs practised under their dominion. And thus they continued until the reign of Henry II. king of England, in whose time the undertakings for the conquest of Ireland were successfully made by most powerful, though private, adventures upon this occasion.

The first
enterprise
of the Eng-
lish upon
Ireland
made by
private ad-
venturers.

† Dermott Mac-Morrough king of Leinster (being by the kings of Conaght and Meath enforced to fly his country) made his repair directly to Henry II. king of England, then personally attending his wars in France, and with much earnestness implored his aid for the recovery of his territories in Ireland, most injuriously, as he pretended, wrested out of his hands. The king refused to imbarque himself in this quarrel: yet graciously recommended the justice of his cause to all his loving subjects, and by his letters patent assured them that whosoever would afford the said Mac-Morrough assistance towards his resettlement, should not only have free liberty to transport their forces, but be held to do very acceptable service, therein. † Hereupon earl Strangebow first engaging himself, determined as a private adventurer to endeavour

ordinis, nec unctionis sacramento, nec jure hæreditario, vel aliqua proprietatis successione, sed vi & armis quilibet regnum suum obtinuit.

† The black book of Christ-church in Dublin, it is an ancient manuscript kept there.

† Se nostram ad hoc tam gratiam noverit quam licentiam obtinere. Gir. Cambren. expugnat. Hib. c. 1.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

your his restitution with the utmost force he could raise, he lying then very conveniently at Bristol, where Mac-Morough came unto him, in his passage back from the king into Ireland; there were certain conditions agreed upon between them, and a transaction made by Mac-Morough of his kingdom of Leinster unto the earl, upon his marriage with his only daughter Eva. And so he being desirous to return speedily into his own country, passed to St. Davids, in South-Wales, from whence is the shortest passage out of England into Ireland; and there he further engaged Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, private gentlemen, in this service: these by their power among their countrymen in those parts, having gotten together a party of 490 men, transported them in three ships into Ireland, landing at the Banne, a little creek near Featherd, in the county of Wexford, and there joyning with some forces brought unto them by Mac-Morough, made their first attempt upon the town of Wexford, they were gallantly seconded by earl Strangebow, who followed presently after with no very considerable forces; and yet by the power of their arms, within a very short time prevailed so far in the country, as they made themselves masters thereof, and so gained the possession of all the maritime parts of Leinster.

King Henry upon the news of their prosperous success in the sudden reducement of so large a territory by such inconsiderable forces as they carried with them; desirous to share with his subjects in the rich fruits, as well as in the glory of so great an action, undertook an expedition in his own person into Ireland the year following. And so strange

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Camba.
cap. 1.

K. Henry
II. his ex-
pedition
into Ire-
land, An.
1171.

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an influence had the very presence of this great prince upon the minds of the rude savage natives, as partly by the power of his arms, partly by his grace and favour in receiving of them in upon their fained submissions most humbly tendred unto him, he easily subdued a barbarous divided people.

The first beginnings of the conquest of this kingdom were thus gloriously laid by this king, in the year of our lord 1172. Now for the land itself, he found it good and flourishing, with many excellent commodities, plentiful in all kinds of provision, the soil rich and fertile, the air sweet and temperate, the havens very safe and commodious, several towns and little villages scattered up and down in the several parts of the country; but the buildings so poor and contemptible, as when that king arrived at Dublin their chief city, and finding there neither place fit for receipt or entertainment, * he set up a long house made of smoothed wattles after the manner of the country, and therein kept his christmas. All their forts, castles, stately buildings and other edifices were afterwards erected by the English, except some of their maritime towns which were built by the Ostmanni or Esterlings who anciently came and inhabited in Ireland.

Moreover he found likewise by several monuments of piety, and other remarkable testimonies, that the christian religion had been long since introduced and planted among the inhabitants of the land. It is not certainly without some good grounds affirmed by ancient

The christian religion settled in Ireland, by Sedulius, Palladius and Patrick in the fourth age after the birth of our Saviour.

* Rog. Hoveden calls it Palatium regium miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius constructum. fol. 528.

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cient writers, that in the fourth age after the incarnation of our blessed lord and saviour, some holy and learned men came over out of foreign parts into Ireland, out of their pious desires to propagate the blessed gospel throughout the kingdom, as Sedulius, Palladius, and besides several others, Patricius the famous Irish saint, (a Britain born at a place now called Kirk-Patrick near Glascow in Scotland, then the utmost boundary of the britains dominions in those parts,) who out of meer devotion came and spent much of their time among the Irish, and out of their zealous affections for the conversion of a barbarous people, applied themselves with great care and industry to the instructing of them in the true grounds and principles of the christian religion. And with so great success, and such unwearyed endeavours did St. Patrick travel in this work, as (if we will give credit to some writers) we must believe that the church of Armagh was by him erected into an Archiepiscopal see, three hundred and fifty bishops consecrated, great numbers of clergymen instituted, who (notwithstanding the notorious impiety and continued prophaneness of the common sort of people) being most of them Monks by vow and profession, of great learning, very austere and strict in their discipline, were so much taken notice of in those rude ignorant times, by other nations, as in respect of them some gave unto the island the denomination of *Insula Sanctorum*. But so quickly did the power of holiness decay in the land, as the name was soon lost, and even the very prints and characters thereof among the very clergy themselves obliterated; the life of the people so beastly, their manners so depraved

1156.

and barbarous, as that king Henry, when he entertained the first thoughts of transferring his arms over into Ireland, * made suit unto the pope, that he would give him leave to go and conquer Ireland, and reduce those beastly men unto the way of truth. Answerable whereunto was the tenor of pope Adrian's bull, as appears at large in Parisiensis, whereby he gave him liberty to go over and subdue the Irish nation. A sufficient demonstration of the condition of that people, and what opinion was held of them, as well by the holy father the pope as other princes. And the king at his arrival found them no other than a beastly people indeed: for the inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of civility, governed by no settled law, living like beasts, biting and devouring one another, without all rules, customs, or reasonable constitutions, either for regulation of property, or against open force and violence, most notorious murders, rapes, robberies, and all other acts of inhumanity and barbarism, raging without controul or due course of punishment. Whereupon, he, without any manner of scruple, or farther inquisition into particular titles, resolving as it seems to make good by the sword the pope's donation, made a general seizure of all the lands of the whole kingdom, and so without other ceremony took them all into his own hands.

And that he might the more speedily introduce religion and civility, and so draw on

* Rex Anglorum Hen. nuncios solennes Romam mittens rogavit Papam Adrianum ut sibi liceret Hiberniæ. Insulam intrare, & terram subjugare, atque homines illos bestiales ad fidem, & viam reducere veritatis. Mat. Paris, Anno 1156,

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on towards the accomplishment of that great work which he had so gloriously begun, he first, in a great council held at * Liffemore, caused the laws of England to be received and settled in Ireland, then he afterwards united it to the imperial crown of England, making large distributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole land of Ireland among the English commanders, who made estates, and gave several shares to their friends and commilitants that came over private adventures with them. But before I pass further, I shall take the liberty here to insert one observation out of Giraldus Cambrensis, concerning the cause and reasons of the prosperity of the English undertakings in Ireland. He saith, that a synod or council of the clergy, being there assembled at Armagh, and that point fully debated, it was unanimously agreed by them all, that the sins of the people were the occasion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their nation, and that especially their buying of Englishmen from merchants and pirates, and detaining them under a most miserable hard bondage, had caused the Lord by way of just retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the English to the same slavery. † Where upon they made a public act in that council, that all the English

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Ireland divided by K. Henry II. among his followers, and other adventurers.

* Rex antequam ab Hibernia redibat concilium congregavit apud Liffemore, ubi leges Angliæ ab omnibus grater sunt acceptæ & juratoria cautione præstita confirmatæ. Mat. Paris. An. 1172.

† Decretum est itaque prædicto concilio, & cum Universitatis consensu publice Statutum; ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revocarentur libertatem. Gir. Cam. expug. Hib. cap. 18.

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The number of British and Protestants destroyed since the Rebellion.

The fruitless expeditions of K. John, and K. Rich. II. into Ireland.

English held in captivity throughout the whole land, should be presently restored to their former liberty. If so heavy a judgment fell then upon the Irish for their hard usage of of some few English, what are they now to expect? or what expiation can they now pretend to make for the late effusion of so much innocent English blood, after so horrid, despiteful and execrable a manner? There being, since the rebellion first broke out, unto the time of the cessation made Sept. 15, 1643, which was not full two years after, above 300000 British and Protestants cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation, of those who seemed best to understand the numbers of English planted in Ireland, besides those few which perished in the heat of fight, during the war.

King John came into Ireland during his minority, though to little purpose, but after, about the twelfth year of his reign, upon the general defection of the Irish, he made a second expedition, and during his stay there, built several forts and strong castles, many of which remain unto this day; he erected all the courts of judicature, and contributed very much towards the settlement of the English colonies, as also of the civil government. King Richard II. made likewise in the time of his reign, upon the same occasion, two other expeditions into Ireland in his own person. But both those princes out of a desire to spare the effusion of English blood, as also the expence of treasure, being likewise hastened back by the distempers of their own subjects in England, were both content to suffer themselves to

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to be again abused by the fained submissions of the Irish, who finding their own weakness, and utter disability to resist the power of those two mighty monarchs, came with all humility even from the farthest parts of the kingdom, to submit to their mercy : and yet it is well observed by some that say they returned back, not leaving one true subject more behind them, than they found at their first arrival. Howsoever by the very presence of these princes, and by the careful endeavours of the governors sent over by other of the Kings of England, those that were adventurers in the first conquest, and such others of the English nation as came over afterwards, took possession by virtue of the former grants of the whole kingdom, drove the Irish in a manner out of all the habitable parts of it, and settled themselves in all the plains and fertile places of the country, especially in the chief towns, ports and upon the sea-coasts. And to such a height of power and greatness had some of those first adventuring commanders raised themselves here by reason of the addition of new titles of honour, the unlimited jurisdictions and privileges enjoyed by them, the great rents they received, the numerous dependance they had, as that they began to look upon their own possessions as circumscribed within too narrow limits, to entertain private animosities against each other, to draw in the Irish (whom they had driven up into the mountains, and ever esteemed as their most deadly enemies) to take part in their quarrels, being not ashamed to use their assistance for the enlargement of their own private territories, as also to curb the too exorbitant power, as they thought, of their opposites, though their own compatriots and joint-

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The ancient malice
of the Irish
to the English.

joint-tenants in the possession of that good land. The Irish were very glad to entertain this occasion, and did ever foment by their utmost power and artifice these unnatural broils and dissensions amongst the English, whom they most mortally hated: for they living in a manner out of the reach, as well as out of the protection of all the English laws and government, were always accounted not only as aliens, but meer enemies; and besides those Septs of Irish which were termed the † *Quinquefamilæ* (who notwithstanding the great privileges they enjoyed by the protection of the English laws, ever shewed much averfeness both to the English and their laws) no other persons of any Irish families, from the very first conquest of Ireland in the time of Henry II. until the reign of King Henry VIII. were admitted into the condition of subjects, or received any benefit by the English laws, but such as purchased charters of denization. It was no capital offence to kill any of them, the law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death. And so they living upon the mountains, in the boggs, and woods, though at first after some sort divided from the English, did take all occasions to declare their malice and hatred against the English colonies planted near unto them.

But howsoever the English were in all ages infested with their Irish enemies, yet were they certainly in point of interest and universal possession, owners and proprietors of the whole kingdom of Ireland. They kept themselves in entire bodies almost for the first hundred

† *Quinquefamilæ*. O Neale de Ultonia. O Malahlin de Melin. O Connor de Conacio. O Brien de Thomondia. Mac-Morrough de Lagenia.

hundred years after their arrival, not suffering the Irish to live promiscuously among them, by which means they failed not to make good their footing, and by a high hand to keep them under in due obedience and subjection to the crown of England. And when afterwards they began to be more careless of their habitation, and to suffer the Irish to intermingle with them, and their English followers to familiarize themselves into their beastly manners and customs (for prevention of which mischief, * many severe Laws were enacted in after ages,) yet for some time they made good the rights and possessions they had gotten by conquest, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the people, introducing the English laws, language, habit and customs long used among them. Now although these, and all other courses were taken by them, which might reclaim such as seemed any ways inclinable to civility, or would take out charters of denization; yet such ever was, and still is the rough rebellious disposition of the people, their hatred so implacable, their malice so unappeasable to all the English nation, as no laws or gentle constitutions would work, no publick benefits, temper, or any tract of time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable patience of cohabitation: but they have in all times continued to take all advantages

as

* By the statutes made at Kilkenny by Lionel duke of Clarence, lord lieutenant of Ireland in the time of Edward III. Alliance by marriage, nurture of infants, and gossipred with the Irish are high treason. And if any Englishman should use the Irish language, Irish name, or Irish apparel, his lands should be seized on, and if he had no lands, he was to suffer imprisonment. Archiv. in castro Dublin. Statutes of Kilkenny.

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as well since they were admitted into the condition of subjects, as while they were esteemed and treated as enemies; most perfidiously, to rise up and imbrue their hands in the blood of their English neighbours: so as Ireland hath long remained a true *Aceldama*, a field of blood, an unsatiated sepulcher of the English nation. * For what by reason of their own intestine broils, after they had (as soon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the Irish) most barbarously degenerate into all their manners and customs; and what by reason of the cruel hatred and mischievous attempts of the Irish upon them: we shall not find that the English, from the first access into Ireland, unto the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, (a tract of time containing above 380 years) had any settled peace or comfortable subsistence, but were in most perpetual combustions and troubles, so extremely harrassed and overworn with misery, as they were not long likely to survive the universal calamity that had overspread the face of the whole kingdom.

The royal
endeavours
of queen
Eliz. for
the redu-
cing of
Ireland

Whereupon that blessed queen, out of her pious intentions, and good affections to her people, applied herself with great care to redress the disorders of her subjects in Ireland. And in the very beginning of her reign, sending over prudent and religious governors, the
work

* In that space of time which was between the 10 year of Edward II. and the 30 year of Edward III. all the old English colonies in Munster, Conaught and Ulster, and more than a third part of Leinster became degenerated, and fell away from the crown of England, so as the English pale remained only under the obedience of the law.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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work of reformation was much advanced, by many wholesome laws enacted against the barbarous customs of the Irish; and the execution of justice (which a long time continued within the limits of the pale) began now to be extended into Connaught, Ulster, and other remote parts of the land at some intervals of quiet times. The Irish countries were reduced into shires; and sheriffs, with some other ministers of justice placed in them: the pretended captainships, and those high powers usurped by the Irish, together with all the extortions, and other fearful exorbitancies incident to them, were now put into such a way of declination, as they could not long continue. Seignories and possessions were settled in a due course of inheritance; those most destructive customs of * Tanestry and Gavelkind

* The lands belonging to the Irish, were divided into several territories, and the inhabitants in every Irish country were divided into several septs or lineages.--- In every Irish country, there was a lord or chieftain, and a tanist, which was his successor apparent. None could be chosen tanist, but one issued out of the chief septs--- The seignory and lands belonging to the chief lord, did not descend from father to son, or upon default of issue to him that was next of kin: but he that was most active, of greatest power, and had most followers, always caused himself to be chosen tanist; and if he could not compass his desires by gentle means, then he used open force and violence; and so being declared as it were heir apparent, came into possession upon the death of the chief lord---- Now for the inferior septs, they held their lands at the will of the chief lord, after a sort; for after the death of any one of his tenants which held any land under him, he assembled the whole septs, and having put all their possessions together in hatch potch, made a new partition among them, not assigning to the son of him that died, the land held by his father, but altering every mans possession at his own pleasure, and according to his own discretion: he

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Gavelkind began to be depressed; the two presidential courts of Munster and Connaught were then instituted, and special order taken that free-schools might be erected in the several diocesses throughout the kingdom, for the better training up of youth. But these acts, and other courses tending to the advancement of true religion, and civility, were highly displeasing, and most incompatible with the loose humours of the natives, who apprehended even the most gentle means of reformation, as sharp corroding medicines; and thereupon pretending the burthen of the English government most insupportable, began desperately to struggle for their liberty. * Several plots were laid, some even by those who were themselves of the old English by extraction: divers rebellions and petty revolts raised during her majesty's most happy reign: that of Shan O'Neal, the earl of Desmond, viscount Balinglas, O'Burke, and several others at other times, were all set on foot for this very end, and all timely suppressed, partly by the power of the queen's forces, partly by her gracious favour in receiving the chieftains to mercy. And she, as most unwearied with their never ceasing provocations, still went on with all gentle applications and lenitives, for the withdrawing of the people from their barbarous customs:

he upon the death of every inferiour tenant, made a general remove, and so allotted to every one of the sept such part as he thought fit. And this was the Irish gavelkind. Sir John Davies rep. fol. 49.

* Nonnulli ex claris in lageniæ familiis & plerique anglicæ originis partim ex romanæ religionis studio, partim ex odio recentium anglorum conspirare coeperant: ad proregem, cum familia opprimendum, castrum dubliniense intercipiendum, & anglos in hibernia ad unum & medio tollendos. Camden. Eliz. Ann. 22.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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customs: as several of the great lords who had been out in rebellion, were restored to their lands and possessions; others she suffered to enjoy their commands in the country, upon others she bestowed new titles of honour. And being very unwilling to put the kingdom of England to such an excessive charge, as the full conquest of Ireland would most necessarily require; no fair means were left untried, that could minister any hopes of civilizing the people, or settling the present distractions of the kingdom.

But all was in vain; the matter then wrought upon was not susceptible of any such noble forms, those ways were heterogeneous, and had no manner of influence upon the perverse disposition of the Irish: the malignant impressions of irreligion and barbarism, transmitted down, whether by infusion from their ancestors, or natural generation, had irrefragably stiffened their necks, and hardened their hearts against all the most powerful endeavours of reformation: they continued one and the same in all their wicked customs and inclinations, without change in their affections or manners, having their eyes enflamed, their hearts enraged with malice and hatred against all of the English nation, breathing forth nothing but their ruin, destruction, and utter extirpation.

And that they might at once dis-impester themselves of their displeasing company, and disburthen the whole kingdom of them and their posterity, they still entertained new thoughts, and had now brought unto perfection a design long meditated in their breasts, whereby they resolved at once clearly to rescue and deliver themselves from their subjec-

The Irish not to be reclaimed by gentle means.

Tyrone's rebellion.

1641.

tion to the crown of England. And this was that desperate rebellion raised almost through the whole kingdom, by Hugh earl of Tyrone, who after titles of honour, received a command given by the queen unto him both of horse and foot in her pay, great proportions of land, and other princely favours conferred upon him; resolving at once to cancel all those royal obligations of gratitude and fidelity, broke out and drew along with him most of all the Irish septs and families, together with many degenerate English throughout the kingdom, into rebellion against his most gracious undoubted sovereign. And these all, as being universally actuated with the venomous infusions of his malevolent spirit, uniting their whole interests and forces into a firm conjuncture with him, raised all their dependants, and moved in several places according to the several orders and directions they received from him; and to fill up the full measure of his iniquity, he drew in foreign nations at the same time with considerable forces to invade the land.

The ill effects of the submissions of the Irish.

So as the queen now found by woeful experience that Ireland was no longer to be dallied with, one rebellion still begot another, and this last was more dangerous than any of the former it being more deeply rooted, more generally spread within the kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well discerned how much her great clemency had been abused in suffering former rebellions to be smothered over and loosely pieced up with protections and pardons; that the receiving of the Irish upon their submissions, to avoid the charge of a war, did inevitably redouble the charge, and per-

perpetuate the miseries of war: therefore she now resolved no longer to trifle with them, but vigorously to set to the work, and making choice of some of her most renowned English commanders, committed to their charge the conduct of an army royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the prosecution of that arch-traitor Tyrone, and with great success in a short time, though not without the expence of much English blood, and above a million of money, brought him upon his knees. And howsoever before this glorious work was fully accomplished, it pleased God to put a period to her days, yet she lived long enough to see just vengeance brought down upon the head of that unnatural disturber of the peace of the kingdom, himself in a manner wholly deserted, his country most miserably wasted, and a general desolation and famine brought in, mightily consuming what was left undevoured by the sword.

1641.

It is very easy to conjecture in what a most miserable condition Ireland then was, the English colonies being for the most part barbarously rooted out, the remainders degenerated into Irish manners and names, the very Irish themselves most mightily wasted and destroyed by the late wars, and thereby much of the kingdom depopulated, in every place large monuments of calamity and undiscontinued troubles. King James of blessed memory found it, at his first accession to the crown of England, in this deplorable estate; whereupon he presently took into his care the peaceable settlement of Ireland, and civilizing of the people: and conceiving that the powerful conjunction of England and Scotland would now over-

The miserable condition of Ireland when King James came to the crown of England.

1641.

His lenity
towards the
Irish rebels,
and his en-
deavours
for civil re-
formation.

aw the Irish, and contain them in their due obedience, he resolved not to take any advantage of those forfeitures and great confiscations which he was most justly intitled unto by Tyrone's rebellion; but out of his royal bounty and princely magnificence, restored all the natives to the entire possession of their own lands. A work most munificent in itself, and such as he had reason to believe would for the time to come perpetually oblige their obedience to the Crown of England. And in this state, the kingdom continued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquility, until the sixth year of his reign: then did the earl of Tyrone take up new thoughts of rising in arms, and into his rebellious design he easily drew the whole province of Ulster, then entirely at his devotion; but his plot failed; and he finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he with the principal of his adherents, quitting the kingdom, fled into Spain, leaving some busy incendiaries to foment those beginnings he had laid for a new rebellion in Ireland, and promising speedily to return well attended with foreign succours to their aid: but by the great blessing of Almighty God upon the wise counsels of that king, and the careful endeavours of his vigilant ministers, the distempers occasioned by the noise of that commotion were soon allayed, and Tyrone never returning, the peace of the kingdom much confirmed and settled. King James hereupon being now so justly provoked by the high ingratitude of those rebellious traitors, caused their persons to be attainted, their lands to be seized, and those six counties within the province of Ulster which belonged unto them, to be surveyed, and all
(except

(except some small parts of them reserved to gratify the well affected natives) to be distributed in certain proportions among British undertakers, who came over and settled themselves, and many other British families, in those parts: By this means the foundations of some good towns, soon after encompassed with stone-walls, were presently laid, several castles and houses of strength built in several parts of the country, great numbers of British inhabitants there settled, to the great comfort and security of the whole kingdom. And the same course was taken likewise for the better assurance of the peace in the country in the plantation of several parts of Leinster, where the Irish had made incursions, and violently expelled the old English out of their possessions. But howsoever the king was by due course of law justly intitled to all their whole estates there; yet he was graciously pleased to take but one fourth part of their lands, which was delivered over likewise into the hands of British undertakers, who with great cost and much industry planted themselves so firmly, as they became of great security to the country, and were a most special means to introduce civility in those parts: so as now the whole kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly buildings, and all manner of improvements; the people to multiply and increase, and the very Irish seem'd to be much satisfied with the benefits of that peaceable government, and general tranquility which they so happily enjoyed.

And now of late such was the great indulgence of king Charles our sovereign that now reigneth, to his subjects of Ireland,

as that in the year 1640, upon their com-

King Charles's great readiness to redress the grievances presented unto him by the Irish commissioners, 1640.

1647.

Sir Will.
Parsons
and sir John
Borlace
made lords
justices.

plaints, and a general remonstrance sent over unto him from both houses of parliament, then sitting at Dublin, by a committee of four temporal * lords of the upper house, and twelve members of the house of commons, with instructions to represent the heavy pressures they had for some time suffered under the government of the earl of Strafford. He took their grievances into his royal consideration, descended so far to their satisfaction, as that he heard them himself, and made present provisions for their redress: and upon the decease of Mr. Wandsford, master of the rolls in Ireland, and then lord deputy here under the said earl of Strafford, who still continued lord lieutenant of this kingdom (though then accused of high-treason, and imprisoned in the tower of London, by the parliament of England) his majesty sent a commission of government to the lord Dillon of Kilkenny-west, and sir William Parsons, knight and baronet, master of the wards in Ireland, yet soon after finding the choice of the lord Dillon to be much disgusted by the committee, he did, at their motion, cause the said commission to be cancelled, and with their consent and approbation, placed the government upon sir William Parsons, and sir John Borlace, knight, master of the ordnance, both esteemed persons of great integrity; and the master of the wards, by reason of his very long continued employment

* The Lord viscount Gormanstone, L. viscount Kilmaloc, L. viscount Castelo, L. viscount Baltinglas.

Nic. Plunket, Digby, Richard Fitzharret, Nic. Barnwall, esq; for Leinster. Sir Hardress Waller, Jo. Welsh, sir Dounogh Mac-Carty, for Munster. Robert Lynch, Geffry Brown, Thomas Burk, for Conaught. Sir William Cole, sir James Moagomery, for Ulster,

ment in the state, his particular knowledge of the kingdom, much valued and well beloved among the people. They took the sword up on the 9th of February, 1640; and in the first place they applied themselves with all manner of gentle lenitives to mollify the sharp humours raised by the rigid passages in the former government. They declared themselves against all such proceedings lately used, as they found any ways varying from the common law; they gave all due encouragement to the parliament then sitting, to endeavour the reasonable ease and contentment of the people, freely assenting to all such acts as really tended to a legal reformation: they betook themselves wholly to the advice of the council, and caused all matters, as well of the crown, as popular interest, to be handled in his majesty's courts of justice, no ways admitting the late exorbitances (so bitterly decried in parliament) of paper-petitions, or bills in civil causes, to be brought before them at the council-board, or before any other by their authority: they, by his majesty's gracious directions, gave way to the parliament to abate the subsidies (there given in the earl of Strafford's time, and then in collection) from 40000*l.* each subsidy, to 12000*l.* a-piece, so low did they think fit to reduce them: and they were further content (because they saw his majesty most absolutely resolved to give the Irish agents full satisfaction) to draw up two acts to be passed in the parliament, most impetuously desired by the natives: the one was the act of Limitations, which unquestionably settled all estates of land in the kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the space of sixty years immediately pre-

They apply themselves to give contentment to the people.

1641.

ceding: the other was for the relinquishment of the right and title which his majesty had to the four counties in Conaught, legally found for him by several inquisitions taken in them, and ready to be disposed of, upon a due survey, to British undertakers; as also to some territories of good extent in Munster, and the county of Clare, upon the same title.

Thus was the present government most sweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the lords justices and council wholly departing from the rigour of former courses, did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just complaisance with the seasonable desires of the people. And his majesty, that he might further testify his own settled resolution for the continuation thereof with the same tender hand over them, having first given full satisfaction in all things to the said committee of parliament, still attending their dispatch, did about (the latter end of May, 1641, declare Robert earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant general of the kingdom of Ireland. He was heir to sir Phillip Sidney his uncle, as well as to sir Henry Sidney, his grandfather, who with great honour and much integrity long continued chief governor of Ireland during the reign of queen Elizabeth; and being a person of excellent abilities by nature, great acquisitions from his own private industry and publick employment abroad, of exceeding great temper and moderation, was never engaged in any publick pressures of the common-wealth; and therefore most likely to prove a just and gentle governor, most pleasing and acceptable to the people.

The earl
of Leicester
declared
lord lieutenant
of Ire-
land, May
1641.

More-

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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Moreover the roman catholicks now privately enjoyed the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole kingdom, according to the doctrine of the church of Rome. They had by the over great indulgence of the late governours, their titular arch-bishops, bishops, vicars-general, provincial consistories, deans, abbots, priors, nuns, who all lived freely, tho' somewhat covertly among them, and without controul, exercised a voluntary jurisdiction over them; they had their priests, jesuits, and fryars, who were of late years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of Spain, Italy, and other foreign parts, where the children of the natives of Ireland that way devoted, were sent usually to receive their education. And these without any manner of restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the chief towns, villages, noblemen and private gentlemens houses throughout the kingdom. So as the private exercise of all their religious rites and ceremonies were freely enjoyed by them, without any manner of disturbance, and not any of the laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon transgressors in that kind.

The papists permitted privately to enjoy the free exercise of their Religion.

And for the ancient animosities and hatred which the Irish had been ever observed to bear unto the English nation, they seemed now to be quite deposited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and national obligations passed between them. The two nations had now lived together forty years in peace, with great security and comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all these bonds and ligatures of friendship, alliance,

The good agreement between the Irish and English in all parts of the kingdom.

1647.

ance and consanguinity, as might make up a constant and perpetual union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent, gossiped, fostering (relations of much dearness among the Irish) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and service interchangeably passed among them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual transmigration into each others manners, many English being strangely degenerated into Irish affections and customs; and many Irish especially of the better sort, having taken up the English language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houses. And so great an advantage did they find by the English commerce and cohabitation in the profits and high improvements of their lands and native commodities, so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raise by their own proper industry, as sir Phelim O Neal, and many others of the prime leaders in this rebellion, had not long before turned their Irish tenants off their lands, as some of them said to me (when I enquired the reason of their so doing) even to starve upon the mountains, while they took in English, who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the same. A matter that was much taken notice of, and esteemed by many, as most highly conducing to the security of the English interests, and plantation among them. So as all these circumstances duly weighed together with the removal of the late obstructions, the great increase of trade, and many other evident symptoms of a flourishing common-wealth, it was believed even by the wisest and best experienced in the affairs of Ireland, that the peace and tranquillity

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lity of the kingdom was now fully settled, and most likely in all humane probability to continue, without any considerable interruption, in the present felicity and great prosperity it now enjoyed under the government of his majesty that now reigneth.

1641.

In August 1641, the lords justices and council finding the popish party in both houses of parliament to be grown to so great a height, as was scarcely compatible with the present government, were very desirous to have an adjournment made for three months, which was readily assented unto, and performed by the members of both houses. And this was done not many days before the return of the committee formerly mentioned, out of England: they arrived at Dublin about the latter end of August, and presently after their return they applied themselves to the lords justices and council, desiring to have all those acts and other graces granted by his majesty, made known unto the people by proclamations, to be sent down into several parts of the country; which while the lords justices took into their consideration, and sat daily composing of acts to be passed the next session of parliament, for the benefit of his majesty, and the good of his subjects, they seemed with great contentment and satisfaction to retire into the country to their several habitations, that they might there refresh themselves in the mean season.

The parliament adjourned, Aug. 1641.

The Irish commissioners return out of England and land at Dublin.

The

1641.



The discovery of the conspiracy of the Irish, to seize upon the castle and city of DUBLIN; and their general rising at the same time, in all the Northren parts of this kingdom.

The happy
Condition
of Ireland
at the time
of the
breaking
out of the
rebellion,
October,
23, 1641.

SUCH was now the state and present condition of the kingdom of Ireland, such the great serenity through the gentle and happy transaction of the publick affairs here; as that the late Irish army raised for the invasion of the kingdom of Scotland, being peaceably disbanded, their arms and munition, by the singular care of the Lords Justices and Council brought into his Majesty's stores within the city of Dublin; there was no manner of warlike preparations, no reliques of any kind of disorders proceeding from the late levies, nor indeed any noise of war remaining within these coasts. Now while in this great calm the British continued in a most deep security, under the assurance of the blessed peace of this land; while all things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the present government, and all men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the least thoughts or apprehension of either tumults or other troubles, the differences between his Majesty and his subjects of Scotland being about this time fairly composed and settled: There broke out upon the 23d of October, 1641, a most desperate and formidable rebellion, and universal defection and general revolt; wherein not only all the meer Irish, but almost all the old English that adhered to the church of Rome, were totally involved. And because it will be necessary to leave

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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leave some monuments hereof to posterity, I shall observe the beginnings and first motions, as well as trace out the progress, of a Rebellion so execrable in itself, so odious to God and the whole World, as no age, no kingdom, no people can parallel the horrid cruelties, the abominable murders that have been without number, as well as without mercy, committed up the British inhabitants throughout the land, of what age or sex, of what quality or condition soever they were.

And first I must needs say, howsoever I have observed in the nature of the Irish, such a kind of dull and deep reservedness, as makes them with much silence and secrecy to cary on their business: yet I cannot but consider with great admiration, how this mischievous plot which was to be so generally at the same time, and at so many several places acted, and therefore necessarily known to so many several persons, should without any noise be brought to such maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution, without any noise or intimation given to any two of that huge multitude of persons who were generally designed (as most of them did) to perish in it. For besides the uncertain presumptions that Sir William Cole had of a commotion to be raised by the Irish in the province of Ulster about a fortnight before this rebellion broke openly out, and some certain intelligence which he received of the same two days before the Irish rose; I could never hear that any English man received any notice of this conspiracy, before the very evening that it was to be generally put in execution. It is true, Sir William Cole, upon the very first apprehensions of something that he conceived to be hatching among the Irish

1641.
The first plot for the rebellion carried on with so great secrecy, as none of the English had notice of it before it was ready to be put in execution.

1641.

Irish, did write a letter to the lords justices and council, dated the 11th of October, 1641, wherein he gave them notice of the great resort made to sir Phelim O Neal, in the county of Tyrone, as also to the house of the lord Mac-Guire, in the county of Fermanagh, and that by several suspected persons, fit instruments for mischief. As also, that the said lord Mac-Guire had of late made several journies into the Pale, and other places, and had spent his time much in writing letters, and sending dispatches abroad. These letters were received by the lords justices and council; and they, in answer to them, required him to be very vigilant and industrious to find out what should be the occasion of those several meetings, and speedily to advertise them thereof, or of any other particular that he conceived might tend to the publick service of the state. And for that which was revealed to sir William Cole upon the 21st of October, the same month, by John Cormacke, and Flarty Mac-Hugh, from Brian Mac-Cohannaught, Mac-Guire, touching the resolutions of the Irish, to seize upon his majesty's castle and city of Dublin, to murder the lords justices and council of Ireland, and the rest of the protestants there, and to seize upon all the castles, forts, sea-ports, and holds that were in possession of the protestants within the kingdom of Ireland, I find by the examination of John Cormacke, taken upon oath at Westminster, Nov. 18, 1644, That the said sir William Cole did dispatch letters to the lords justices and council the same day to give them notice thereof. But I can also testify that those letters (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miscarried, I cannot

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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not say) came not unto their hands; as also that they had not any certain notice of this general conspiracy of the Irish, until the 22d of October, in the very evening before the day appointed for the surprize of the city and castle of Dublin. Then the conspirators being many of them arrived within the city, and having that day met at the lion tavern near Copper-alley, and there turning the drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drunk healths upon their knees to the happy success of the next morning's work: Owen O Conally a gentleman of a meer Irish family, but one that had long lived among the English, and been trained up in the true protestant religion, came unto the lord justice Parsons, about nine of the clock that evening, and made him a broken relation of a great conspiracy for the seizing upon his majesty's castle of Dublin: he gave him the names of some of the chief conspirators, assured him they were come up expressly to the town for the same purpose, and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design was not speedily prevented, and that he had understood all this from Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in the town, and came up but the very same afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking somewhat liberally, and as the truth is, did then make such a broken relation of a matter that seemed so incredible in itself, as that his lordship gave very little belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure person, and one as he conceived somewhat distempered at that time. But howsoever the lord Parsons gave him order

Owen O Conally discovers the conspiracy of the Irish to the lord Parsons the very evening before it was to be executed.

2641.

der to go again to Mac-Mahon, and get out of him as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumstances, as he could, straitly charging him to return back unto him the same evening. And in the mean time, having by strict command given to the constable of the castle, taken order to have the gates thereof well guarded, as also with the mayor and sheriffs of the city to have strong watches set upon all the parts of the same, and to make stay of all strangers, he went privately about ten of the clock that night to the lord Borlace's house without the town, and there acquainted him with what he understood from Conally. They sent for such a council as they knew then to be in town. But there came only unto them that night Sir Thomas Rotheram, and Sir Robert Meredith, chancellor of the exchequer, with these they fell into consultation what was fit to be done, attending the return of Conally. And finding that he staid somewhat longer then the time prefixed, they sent out in search after him, and found him seized on by the watch, and so he had been carried away to prison, and the discovery that night disappointed, had not one of the lord Parson's servants expressly sent amongst others to walk the streets, and attend the motion of the said Conally, come in and rescued him, and brought him to the lord Borlace's house. Conally having somewhat recovered himself from his distemper, occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the horror of the plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with Mac-Mahon, that he might the more easily get away from him (he beginning much to suspect and fear his discovering of the plot) confirmed what he had formerly related,

lated, and added these farther particulars set down in his examination, as followeth.

The examination of Owen O Conally, gentleman, taken before us whose names enue, Octob. 22, 1641.

Who being duly sworn, and examined, saith, that he being at Monimore, in the county of London-derry on Tuesday last, he received a letter from colonel Hugh Oge MacMahon, desiring him to come to Conaught in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday and Thursday last, whereupon he, this examinee came to Conaught, on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him hither: he came hither about six of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the town, near the pillory, to the lodging of the lord Mac-Guire, where they found not the lord within, and there they drank a cup of beer, and then went back again to the said Hugh his lodging. He saith, that at the lord Mac-Guire his lodging, the said Hugh told him that there were, and would be this night great numbers of noblemen, and gentlemen of the Irish papists from all the parts of the kingdom in this town, who with himself had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his majesty's ammunition there to-morrow morning, being Saturday, and that they intended first to batter the chimnies of the said town, and if the city would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the protestants that

D would

1641.

would not join with them. He further saith, that the said Hugh then told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten of the clock, and that in all the sea-ports, and other towns in the kingdom, all the protestants should be killed this night, and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it: and further saith, that he moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the state, for the saving of his own estate; who said he could not help it, but said, that they did owe their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights, but that they did this for the tyrannical government was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who got a privilege by that course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging the second time, the said Hugh, swore that he should not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he should go with him the next morning to the castle, and said, if this matter were discovered, some body should die for it, whereupon this examine feigned some necessity for his easement, went down out of the chamber, and left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him, and when this examine came down into the yard, and finding an opportunity, he, this examine leaped over a wall, and two pales, and so came to the lord justice Parsons.

Octob. 22, 1641.

William Parsons,

Tho. Rotheram,

Rob. Meredith.

Owen O Conally.

Hereupon

Hereupon the lords took present order to have a watch privately set upon the lodging of Mac-Mahon, as also upon the lord Mac-Guire, and so they sate up all that night in consultation, having far stronger persump-
 tions upon this latter examination taken, than any ways at first they could entertain. The lords justices upon a further consideration (there being come unto them early next morning several other of the privy council) sent before day, and seized upon Mac-Mahon, then with his servant in his own lodging; they at first made some little resistance with their drawn swords, but finding themselves over-mastered, presently yielded, and so they were brought before the lords justices and council still sitting at the lord Borlace's house: where upon examination he did without much difficulty confess the plot resolutely, telling them, that on that very day all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken. That he with the lord Mac-Guire, Hugh Birn, capt. Brian O Neal, and several other Irish gentlemen, were come up expressly to surprize the castle of Dublin. That twenty men out of each county in the kingdom were to be here to join with them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom that were papists were engaged in this plot. That what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it; and withal told them, that it was true, they had him in their power, and might use him how they pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged.

1641.

Mac-Mahon taken.

His confession.

1641.

The lord
Mac-Guire
with several
other of
the conspirators
seized.

By this time the noise of the conspiracy began to be confusedly spread abroad about the town, and advertisement was brought unto the lords justices then in council, that great numbers of strangers had been observed to come the last evening, and in the morning early unto the town, and most of them to set up their horses in the suburbs: whereupon the lords having in the first place taken order for the apprehension of the lord Mac-Guire, removed themselves for their better security unto the castle, where the body of the council then in town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there. In the first place they caused a present search to be made for all such horses belonging to strangers as were brought into any inns, and by that means they discovered some of the owners, who were presently seized upon and committed to the castle of Dublin, having already delivered over to the custody of the constable there, the lord Mac-Guire, and Hugh Mac-Mahon. Hugh Birn, and Roger Moor, chief of the conspirators, escaped over the river in the night; colonel Plunket, captain Fox, with several others found means likewise to pass away undiscerned; and of the great numbers which came up out of several counties to be actors in taking of the castle and city of Dublin, there were not, through the slack pursuit and great negligence of the inhabitants, above thirty seized upon, most of them servants and inconsiderable persons, those of quality having so many good friends within the town, as they had very ill luck if apprehended. The same day before the lords rose from council, they took order for this proclamation which here followeth to be made and published.

By

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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By the lords justices and council

1641.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

THESE are to make known and publish to all his majesty's good subjects in this kingdom of Ireland, that there is a discovery made by us the lords justices and council, of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy intended by some evil-affected Irish papists, against the lives of us the lords justices and council, and many other of his majesty's faithful subjects, universally throughout this kingdom, and for the seizing not only of his majesty's castle of Dublin, his majesty's principal fort here, but also of the other fortifications in the kingdom. And seeing by the great goodness and abundant mercy of almighty God to his majesty, and this state and kingdom, those wicked conspiracies are brought to light, and some of the conspirators committed to the castle of Dublin, by us, by his majesty's authority, so as those wicked and damnable plots are now disappointed in the chief parts thereof: we therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of his majesty's good and loyal subjects in all parts of the kingdom, but also hereby to require them, that they do with all confidence and chearfulness betake themselves to their own defence, and stand upon their guard, so to render the more safety to themselves, and all the kingdom besides, and that they advertise us with all possible speed of all occurrents, which may concern the peace and safety of the kingdom, and now to shew fully that faith and loyalty, which they have always shewn for the publick

1641.

services of the crown and kingdom, which we will value to his majesty accordingly, and a special memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time. And we require that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for foreign service, nor any men suffered to march upon any such pretence. Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 23^d of October, 1641.

R. Dillon, Ro. Digby, Ad. Loftus,
J. Temple, Tho. Rotheram. Fr. Willoughby, J. Ware, Ro. Meredith.

God Save the King.

This proclamation was presently printed, and several copies sent down by express messengers unto the principal noblemen and gentlemen in several parts of the country, where they caused them to be divers ways dispersed, hoping that when the timely discovery of this conspiracy, and the happy prevention in a great part, should fully appear abroad, it would prove so great a discouragement to such of the conspirators as had not yet openly declared themselves, as that they would thereby be contained within the bounds of their duty and obedience to his majesty. The same night the lord Blauey arrived with the news of the surprisal of his house, his wife, and his children, by the rebels of the county of Monaghan: next day came advertisements from sir Arthur Tyringham, of the taking of Newry; and then the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders committed within

The Irish
rise first in
the province of
Ulster, and
there burn,
spoil, and
destroy the
English.

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within the province of Ulster, began to multiply, and several persons every day, and almost every hour in every day, for a good while after, arrived like Job's messengers, telling the story of their own sufferings, and the fearful massacres of the poor English in those parts from whence they came. These things wrought such a general consternation and astonishment in the minds of all the English, and other inhabitants well-affected within the city, as they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every hour when the Irish, already crept into the town, joining with the Papists there, should make the city a theatre whereon to act the second part of that tragedy most bloodily begun in the northern parts by them.

And it added most extremely to these present fears, that several unhappy rumours (the great tormenters of the weaker sex) were vainly spread abroad of the sudden approach of great numbers of rebels out of the adjacent Irish counties unto the city: some would make us believe that they were discerned at some distance already marching down from the mountain side within view of the town; a report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be eye-witnesses, that it drew some of the state up to the plat-form of the castle to behold those who were yet invisible, though there were there that would not be persuaded but that they saw the very motions of the men as they marched down the mountains. It was at the same time also generally noised abroad, that there were 10000 of the rebels gotten together in a body at the hill of Tarah, a place not above sixteen miles distant from the town, and that they intended, with-

False rumours spread of the rebels approach to the city of Dublin.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

out any farther delay, to march on and presently surprize the same. These false rumours being unluckily spread, and by some fomented out of evil ends, exceedingly increased the present distractions of the people, and raised such a panick fear among them, as about seven of the clock at night, the lords justices, and some of the council, being then in the council-chamber within the castle, there came in to them a gentleman of good quality, who having, not without much difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the gate of the castle, caused the warders then attending to draw up the bridge, assuring them that the rebels gathered together in great numbers, had already possessed themselves of a good part of the town, and came now with great fury marching down the street that leads directly towards the castle-gate. But this fear was quickly removed by sir Francis Willoughby, who being that day made governor of the castle, caused the draw-bridge to be let down, and so found this to be a false alarm, occasioned by some mistake fallen among the people, who continued waving up and down the streets, prepossessed with strange fears, and some of them upon some slender accident drawing their swords; others, that knew not the cause, thought fit to follow the example, and so came to appear to this gentleman, who was none of their company, as so many rebels coming up to enter the castle,

The lords
justices and
council
consult
what course
to take for
the sup-
pressing
this rebel-
lion,

These were the first beginnings of our sorrows, ill symptoms, and sad preparatives to the ensuing evils: therefore the lords finding by several intelligences, though some purposely framed, that the power of the rebels was suddenly swollen up to so great a bulk,
and

THE IRISH REBELLION.

and likely so fast to multiply and increase upon them, thought it high time to consider of the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppose, since they could not prevent, so imminent a danger. The rebellion now appeared, without all manner of question, to be generally raised in all parts of the North, and like a torrent to come down most impetuously upon them: besides, it was no ways improbable that all other parts of the kingdom would take fire and follow their example; they had the testimony of Mac-Mahon positive therein. The first thing therefore which they took into consideration, was, how they were provided of money, arms, and munition; then, what companies of foot, and troops of horse of the old army they were able to draw presently together; as also what numbers of new men they could suddenly raise. For the first, they had this short account from the vice-treasurer, that there was no money in the Exchequer. And certainly it was a main policy in the first contrivers of this rebellion, to plot the breaking of it out at such a time when the Exchequer should be empty, and all the king's revenues, both certain and casual, due for that half year, as well as the rents of all the British throughout the kingdom, should be found ready either in the tenants or collectors hands in the country, and so necessarily fall under their power, as they did to their great advantage. For arms and munition, the stores were indifferently well furnished at this time: besides several pieces of artillery of divers sorts, most of them fitted for present service; there were arms for near 10000 men, 1500 barrels of powder, with match and lead proportionable, laid

No money
in the Ex-
chequer.

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1641. laid in by the earl of Strafford, late lord lieutenant, not long before, and designed another way, but so opportunely reserved for this service, as the good providence of God did exceedingly appear therein, but principally in the miraculous preservation of them out of the hands of the rebels, who made the surprisal of these provisions, then all within the castle of Dublin (the common storehouse of them) a main part of their design. The old standing army, as appears by this list, consisted only of 41 companies of foot, and 14 troops of horse.

A list of his majesty's army in Ireland, 1641.
Before the rebellion began.

Foot companies, consisting of six officers, viz. captain, lieutenant, ensign, chyrurgeon, serjeant and drum, and forty four soldiers each company.

L ORD lieutenant's guard	-	-	-	44
Sir Robert Farrar	-	-	-	44
Sir Thomas Wharton	-	-	-	44
Sir George Saint-George	-	-	-	44
Captain Francis Butler	-	-	-	44
Sir William Saint-Leguer	-	-	-	44
Lord Docwra	-	-	-	44
Lord Blany	-	-	-	44
Sir Robert Steward	-	-	-	44
Lord Viscount Rannelagh	-	-	-	44
Lord Viscount Baltinglass	-	-	-	44
Sir John Vaughan	-	-	-	44
Capt. George Blount	-	-	-	44
Sir Henry Tichburn	-	-	-	44
Sir Frederick Hamilton	-	-	-	44
Lord Castle-Stewart	-	-	-	44
Sir				

THE IRISH REBELLION.

Sir Lorenzo Cary	44
Capt. Chichester Fortescue	44
Sir John Gifford	44
Capt. John Barry	44
Sir John Netterville	44
Capt. Thomas Rockly	44
Sir Arthur Tyringham	44
Capt. Philip Wenman	44
Capt. Charles Price	44
Sir Charles Coot	44
Capt. Thomas Games	44
Sir Francis Willoughby	44
Sir John Borlace	44
Capt. Robert Baily	44
Sir Arthur Loftus	44
Capt. William Billingsly	44
The Lord Esmond	44
The Lord Lambert	44
Sir George Hamilton	44
Lord Folliot	44
Sir William Stewart	44
Capt. Robert Biron	44
Sir John Sherlock	44
The Earl of Clanricard	44
Capt. John Ogle	44

These companies contain officers 246

Soldiers 2051

In all 2297

Horse-Troops.

THE earl of Leicester lord lieutenant general, his troop consisting of captain, lieutenant, cornet, and horse-men 180

The earl of Ormond's troop, like officers and horsemen 107

The earl of Strafford's troop, like officers and horse-men 58

Lord

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Lord Dillon's troop, like officers and horsemen	- - -	58
Lord Wilmet's troop, like officers and horsemen	- - -	58
Sir William Saint-Leguer, Lord Pre- sident of Munster, the like	- - -	58
Lord viscount Moor, the like	- - -	58
Lord viscount Grandison, the like	- - -	58
Lord vis. Cromwell of Lecale the like	- - -	58
Capt. Arthur Chichester, the like	- - -	58
Sir George Wentworth, the like	- - -	58
Sir John Borlace, the like	- - -	58
Lord viscount Conway, the like	- - -	58
Sir Adam Loftus, the like	- - -	58
These troops contain officers	- - -	42
Horse-men	- - -	901

In all 943

These were so strangely dispersed, most of them into the remote parts of the kingdom, for the guard of several forts and other places, as it fell out to be in a manner most impossible to draw a considerable number of them together in any time, either for the defence of the city, or the making head against the rebels in the north: and besides it was much to be suspected, the companies lying severally so remote, and ill-furnished with munition, could with little safety march to Dublin. Yet the lords sent patents presently away to require several companies of foot, and some troops of horse presently to rise and march up from their several garrisons towards the city of Dublin. And now it was held high time to give an account unto his majesty, then at Edinburgh, in his kingdom of Scotland, and

Letters
from the
Lords Jus-
tices and
Council to
the Lord
Lieutenant.

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and to the lord lieutenant continuing still at London (the parliament still sitting there) of the breaking out of the rebellion, this ill condition of the kingdom, the wants of the state, and the supplies absolutely necessary for their present defence and preservation. And because the letter to the lord lieutenant doth most clearly represent several particulars which may much conduce to the knowledge of the affairs, I have thought fit to insert a true copy of it, which here followeth.

May it please your lordship,

ON Friday the two and twentieth of this month, after nine of the clock at night, this bearer, Owen Conally, servant to sir John Clotworthy, knight, came to me the lord justice Parsons to my house, and in great secrecy (as indeed the cause did require) discovered unto me a most wicked and damnable conspiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to be also acted by some evil-affected Irish papists here. The plot was on the then next morning, Saturday the 23d of October, being St. Ignatius's day, about nine of the clock, to surprize his majesty's castle of Dublin, his majesty's chief strength of this kingdom, wherein also is the principal magazine of his majesty's arms and munition; and it was agreed it seems among them, that at the same hour all other his majesty's forts and magazines of arms and munition in this kingdom, should be surprized by others of those conspirators; and further, that all the protestants and English throughout the whole kingdom, that would not join with them, should be cut off, and so those papists should then become possessed

ferred of the government and kingdom at the same instant.

As soon as I had that intelligence, I then immediately repaired to the lord justice Borslace, and thereupon we instantly assembled the council, and having sat all that night, as also all the next day, the 23^d of October, in regard of the short time left us for the consultation of so great and weighty a matter, although it was not possible for us upon so few hours warning, to prevent those other great mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that same hour, and so great a distance as in all the other parts of the kingdom. Yet such was our industry therein, having caused the castle to be that night strengthened with armed men, and the city guarded, as the wicked councils of those evil persons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were not able to act that part of their treachery, which indeed was principal, and which, if they could have effected, would have rendered the rest of their purposes the more easy.

Having so secured the castle, we forthwith laid about for the apprehension of as many of the offenders as we could, many of them having come to this city but that night, intending it seems the next morning to act their parts in those treacherous and bloody crimes.

The first man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon, esq; (grandson to the traitor Tyron) a gentleman of good fortune in the county of Monaghan, who with others, was taken that morning in Dublin, having at the time of their apprehension offered a little resistance with their swords drawn, but finding those we employed against them more in number, and better armed, yielded. He upon his examination

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examination before us at first denied all, but in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he confessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as by a copy of his examination herewith sent, may appear to your lordship. We then committed him until we might have further time to examine him again, our time being come more needful to be employed in action for securing this place, than in examining. This Mac-Mahon had been abroad, and served the king of Spain as a lieutenant colonel.

Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a letter we received the week before from sir William Cole, a copy whereof we send your lordship here inclosed, we gathered that the lord Mac-Guire was to be an actor in surprizing the castle of Dublin, wherefore we held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest, when they found him laid fast. His lordship observing what we had done, and the city in arms, fled from his lodging early before day, it seems disguised; for we had laid a watch about his lodging, so as we think he could not pass without disguising himself, yet he could not get forth of the city, so surely guarded were all the gates.

There were found at his lodging hidden some hatchets, with the helves newly cut off close to the hatchets, and many skeans, and some hammers.

In the end the sheriffs of the city, whom we employed in strict search of his lordship, found him hidden in a cockloft, in an obscure house far from his lodging, where they apprehended him, and brought him before us.

He

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He denied all, yet so, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom; and confessed that he had not advertised us thereof, as in duty he ought to have done. But we were so well satisfied of his guiltiness by all circumstances, as we doubted not upon further examination, when we could be able to spare time for it, to find it apparent: wherefore we held it of absolute necessity to commit him close prisoner, as we had formerly done Mac-Mahon, and others; where we left him on the three and twentieth of this month in the morning, about the same hour they intended to have been masters of that place, and this city.

That morning also we laid wait for all those strangers that came the night before to town, and so many were apprehended whom we find reason to believe to have hands in this conspiracy, as we were forced to disperse them into several goals: and we since found that there came many horse-men into the suburbs that night, who finding the plot discovered, dispersed themselves immediately.

When the hour approached, which was designed for surprising the castle, great numbers of strangers were observed to come to town in great parties several ways; who not finding admittance at the gates, staid in the suburbs, and there grew numerous, to the terror of the inhabitants. We therefore to help that, drew up instantly and signed a proclamation, commanding all men, not dwellers in the city and suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and made it a-like penal to those that should harbour them; which proclamation the sheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the suburbs by our commandment: which

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which being accompanied with the example and terror of the committal of those two eminent men, and others, occasioned the departure of those multitudes: and in this case, all our lives and fortunes, and above all, his majesty's regal power and authority being still at the stake, we must vary from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law as we see cause, but also in putting some to the rack to find out the bottom of this treason, and all the contrivers thereof, which we foresee will not otherwise be done.

On that twenty third day of this month, we conceiving that as soon as it should be known that the plot for seizing Dublin castle was disappointed, all the conspirators in the remote parts might be somewhat disheartned, as on the other side the good subjects would be comforted, and would then with the more confidence stand on their guard, did prepare to send abroad to all parts of the kingdom this proclamation which we send you here inclosed: and so having provided that the city and castle should be so guarded as upon the sudden we could promise, we concluded that long continued consultation.

On Saturday at twelve of the clock at night the lord Blany came to town and brought us the ill news of the rebels seizing with two hundred men his house at Castle-Blany in the county of Monaghan, and his wife, children, and servants; as also a house of the earl of Essex, called Carrickmacross with two hundred men, and a house of sir Henry Spottwood in the same county, with two hundred men; where there being a little plantation of British, they plundered the town and burnt divers houses; and it since appears that they

E

burnt

THE IRISH REBELLION.

burnt divers other villages, and robbed and spoiled many English, and none but protestants; leaving the English papists untouched as well as the Irish.

On Sunday morning at three of the clock, we had intelligence from sir Arthur Tyringham, that the Irish in the town had that day also broken up the king's store of arms and munition at the Newry, where the store of arms had lien ever since the peace, and where they found fourscore and ten barrells of powder, and armed themselves, and put them under the command of sir Con Mageennis, knight, and one Creely a monk, and plundered the English there and disarmed the garrison. And this, though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them.

However, we shall stand on our guard the best we may to defend the castle and city principally, those being the places of most importance. But if the conspiracy be so universal as Mac-Mahon saith in his examination it is, namely, that all the counties in the kingdom have conspired in it, which we admire should so fall out in this time of universal peace, and carried with that secrecy, that none of the English could have any friend among them to disclose it, then indeed we shall be in high extremity, and the kingdom in the greatest danger that ever it underwent, considering our want of men, money and arms, to enable us to encounter so great multitudes as they can make, if all should join against us, the rather, because we have pregnant cause to doubt that the combination hath taken force by the incitement of jesuits, priests and fryars.

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All the hope we have here, is, the old English of the pale, and some other parts, will continue constant to the king in their fidelity, as they did, in former rebellions.

And now in these straits, we must under God, depend on aid forth of England for our present supply with all speed, especially money, we having none, and arms, which we shall exceedingly want; without which, we are very doubtful what account we shall give to the king of his kingdom.

But if the conspiracy be only of Mac-Guire and some other Irish of the kindred and friends of the rebel Tyrone and other Irish in the counties of Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Armagh, and no general revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head against them in a reasonable measure, if we be enabled with money from thence, without which we can raise no forces, so great is our want of money, as we have formerly written, and our debt so great to the army: nor is money to be borrowed here; and if it were, we would engage all our estates for it: neither have we any hope to get in his majesty's rents and subsidies in these disturbances, which add extreamly to our necessities.

On Sunday morning the twenty fourth, we met again in council, and sent to all parts of the kingdom, the enclosed proclamation, and issued patents to draw hither seven horse-troops as a farther strength to this place, and to be with us in case the rebels shall make head and march hitherward, so as we may be necessitated to give them battle. We also then sent away our letters to the president of both the provinces of Munster and Conaught: and we likewise then sent letters to the sheriffs of

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the five counties of the pale, to consult of the best way and means of their own preservation. That day the lord vice com. Gormanstown, the lord vice com. Nitterville, the lord vice com. Fitz-Williams, and the lord of Houth, and since the earls of Kildare and Fingal, and the lords of Dunfany and Slane, all noblemen of the English pale came unto us, declaring that they then and not before heard of the matter, and professed loyalty to his majesty, and concurrence with the state, but said they wanted arms, whereof they desired to be supplied by us, which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their faithfulness to the crown: but we were not yet certain whether or no we had enough to arm our strength for the guard of the city and castle; yet we supplied such of them as lay in most danger, with a small proportion of arms and munition for their houses, lest they should conceive we apprehended any jealousy of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in sending out watches, and making all the discoveries they could, and thereof to advertise us, which they readily promised to do.

And if it fall out that the Irish generally rise, which we have cause to suspect, then we must of necessity put arms into the hands of the English pale in present, and to others as fast as we can, to fight for defence of the state and themselves.

Your lordship now sees the condition wherein we stand, and how necessary it is, first, that we enjoy your presence speedily for the better guiding of those and other the publick affairs of the king and kingdom. And secondly, that the parliament there, be
moved

moved immediately to advance to us a good sum of money, which being now speedily sent hither, may prevent the expence of very much treasure and blood in a long continued war. And if your lordship shall happen to stay on that side any longer time; we must then desire your lordship to appoint a lieutenant general to discharge the great and weighty burthen of commanding the forces here.

Amidst these confusions and discords fallen upon us, we bethought us of the parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November next, and the term now also at hand, which will draw such a concourse of people hither, and give opportunity under that pretence of assembling and taking new councils, seeing the former seems to be in some part disappointed, and of contriving further danger to this state and people: we have therefore found it of unavoidable necessity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the term to be adjourned to the first of hillary term, excepting only the court of exchequer for hastening in the king's money if it be possible. We desire upon this occasion your lordship will be pleased to view our letters concerning the plantation of Conaught, dated the twenty fourth of April last, directed to Mr. secretary Vane in that part thereof, which concerns the county of Monaghan, where now these fires do first break out.

In the last place we must make known to your lordship, that the army we have, consisting but of 2000 foot and 1000 horse, are so dispersed in garrisons in several parts, as continually they have been since they were so reduced, as if they be all sent for to be drawn together

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together, not only the places whence they are to be drawn (and for whose safety they lie there) must be by absence distressed ; but also the companies themselves coming in so small numbers may be in danger to be cut off in their march ; nor indeed have we any money to pay the soldiers to enable them to march. And so we take leave and remain, from his majesty's castle of Dublin, 25th of October, 1641.

Your lordship's to be commanded,

William Parsons. John Borlace.

Richard Bolton, Can. R. Dillon, Anthony Midenfis, John Raphoe, R. Digby, Ad. Loftus, Ger. Lowther, John Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fran. Willoughby, J. Ware, G. Wentworth, Robert Meredith.

P O S T S C R I P T.

The said Owen Conally, who revealed the conspiracy is worthy of very great consideration, to recompence that faith and loyalty which he hath so extreemly, to his own danger, expressed in this business ; whereby, under God, there is yet hope left us of deliverance of this state and kingdom, from the wicked purposes of those conspirators. And therefore we beseech your lordship that it be taken into consideration there, so as he may have a mark of his majesty's most royal bounty, which may largely extend to him and his posterity,

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posterity, we not being now able here to do it for him.

1641.

W. Parsons.

To the right honourable our very good lord, Robert, earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant general, and general governor of the kingdom of Ireland.

The dispatch sent to his Majesty was addressed to sir Henry Vane, principal secretary, and carried by sir Henry Spotswood, who went by sea directly into Scotland: and the letters to the lord lieutenant were sent to London by Owen O Conally, the first discoverer of the plot.

The lords now with all care and diligence, applied their further endeavours towards the preventing as much as was possible, the destruction intended against all the British inhabitants of the kingdom, as well as the security of the city, and the places round about it. A work of large extent, and wherein they met with many difficulties, by reason of their own wants both of men and money. They having formerly sent away and dispersed the proclamations into several parts of the country, now sent letters by express messengers unto the presidents of Munster and Conaught, and to several principal gentlemen in these two provinces; as also to others within the province of Leinster, giving them notice of the discovery of the plot, and advising them to stand upon their guard, and to make the best provision they could for the defence of the country about them. They sent another express to the Earl of Ormond, then at his house

The lords justices cause the proclamations to be dispersed, letters to be written, and other means to be used for the prevention of the rising of the Irish in the north, but all to no purpose.

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at Carrick, with letters to the same effect; and withal, desired his lordship presently to repair unto them at Dublin with his troop of horse. They sent likewise commissions to the lords viscounts of Clancaboys and of the Ardes, for raising of the Scots in the northern parts, and putting them into arms, as they did also soon after to sir William Stewart, and sir Robert Stewart, and several other gentlemen of quality in the north. And as they gave them order for prosecution of the rebels with fire and sword, so they gave them power to receive such of them in, as should submit to his majesty's grace and mercy. But these dispatches they were enforced to send all by sea, the rebels having stopp'd up the passages, and hindred all manner of intercourse with that province by land.

The lords of the English pale repair to the council-board, and there declare their loyal affections to his majesty.

The lords of the * pale having been at the council-board, and there declared to the lords justices; with great protestations, their loyal affections unto his majesty, together with their readiness and forward concurrence with their lordships in this service, came unto them again within two or three days after with a petition; wherein they offered unto their lordships the deep sense they had of an expression in the late proclamation, set out upon the discovery of this great conspiracy intended, as is there set down, *by some evil affected Irish papists*; which words they feared might be by some misinterpreted, and such a construction put upon

* The English pale is a large circuit of land possessed at the time of the first conquest of Ireland by the English, and ever since inhabited by them; it contains several counties, viz. the counties of Dublin, Meath, Lowth, Kildare, &c.

upon them, as might reflect upon their persons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the lords justices and council thought fit, to descend so far to their satisfaction, as not only to remonstrate the clearness of their intentions towards them, but that it might appear unto the world, they entertained not the least jealous thoughts of them, they caused a new proclamation to be set out by way of explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to insert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of those lords and gentlemen occasion to break out into those rebellious courses, they soon afterwards took to their own destruction.

By the lords justices and council.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

WHEREAS a petition hath been presented unto us by divers lords and gentlemen of the English pale, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the pale, and other the old English of this kingdom, shewing that whereas a late conspiracy of treason is discovered of ill affected persons of the old Irish, and that thereupon a proclamation was published by us; wherein, among other things, it is declared that the said conspiracy was perpetrated by Irish papists without distinction of any; and they doubting that by those general words of *Irish Papists*, they might seem to be involved, though they declare themselves confident that we did not intend to conclude them therein, in regard they are none of the old Irish, nor of their faction, or confederacy; but are altogether averse and opposi-

A proclamation issued for the satisfaction of the lords and gentlemen of the English pale.

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sute to all their designs; and all others of like condition; we do therefore to give them full satisfaction, hereby declare and publish to all his majesty's good subjects in this kingdom, that by the words, Irish papists, we intended only such of the old meer Irish in the province of Ulster, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this treason, and others who adhere to them; and that we did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the old English of the pale, nor of any other parts of this kingdom, we being well assured of their fidelities to the crown, and having experience of the good affections and services of their ancestors in former times of danger and rebellion. And we further require all his majesty's loving subjects, whether protestants or papists to forbear upbraiding matter of religion, one against the other, and that upon pain of his majesty's indignation. Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 29th of October, 1641.

R. Ranelagh, R. Dillon, Ant. Midenfis,
Ad. Loftus, Geo. Shurly, Gerrard
Lowther, J. Temple, Fr. Willoughby,
J. Ware.

God save the king.

But to return now to the northern rebels, who so closely pursued on their first plot, as they beginning to put it in execution in most of the chief places of strength there, upon the twenty third of October, the day appointed for the surprisal of the castle of Dublin, had by the latter end of the same month gotten into their possession all the towns, forts, castles, and gentlemens houses within the counties
of

of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down, excepting the cities of Londonderry and Colerain, the town and castle of Inniskilling, and some other places and castles which were for the present gallantly defended by the British undertakers, though afterwards for want of relief, surrendered into their hands. The chief of the northern rebels that first appeared in the execution of this plot within the province of Ulster, where Sir Phelim O'Neal, Turlogh O'Neal, his brother, Roury Mac-Guire, brother to the lord Mac-Guire, Philip O'Rely, Mulmore O'Rely, sir Coone Mac-Gennis, col. Mac-Brian, Mac-Mahan; these having closely combined together, with several other of their accomplices, the chief of the several septs in the several counties, divided their forces into several parties; and according to a general assignation made among themselves at one and the same time, surprised by treachery the town and Castle of the Newry, the fort of Dungannon, fort Montjoy, Charlemont, Tonrages, Carrick-Mac-Rosse, Cloughcutter, Castle Blany, castle of Monaghan; being all of them places of considerable strength, and in several of them companies of foot, or troops of horse belonging to the standing army. Besides these, they took a multitude of other castles, houses of strength, towns and villages, all abundantly peopled with British inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the country as well as themselves, by their painful labours. They had made for their more comfortable subsistence, handsome and pleasant habitations, abounding with corn, cattle, and all other commodities that an industrious people could draw out of

1641.

The greater part of Ulster possessed by the northern rebels.

The names of the chief rebels in Ulster

Several forts and other places suddenly surprised by the rebels.

1645.

The great security and confidence of the English in the Irish, a great cause of their sudden destruction.

The English betrayed and murdered by their Irish friends, servants and tenants

of a good inland soil. They lived in great plenty, and some of them very well stored with plate and ready money. They lived likewise in as great security, being quiet and careless, as the people of Laish, little suspecting any treachery from their Irish neighbours. The English well knew they had given them no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonstrations of love and affection. No story can ever shew that in any age since their intermixed cohabitation, they rose up so secretly to do them mischief. And now of late they lived so peaceably and lovingly together as they had just reason most confidently to believe, that the Irish would never upon any occasion generally rise up again to their destruction. This I take to be one main and principal reason that the English were so easily over-run within the northern counties, and so suddenly swallowed up, before they could make any manner of resistance in the very first beginnings of this rebellion. For most of the English having either Irish tenants, servants, or landlords, and all of them Irish neighbours their familiar friends: as soon as the fire brake out, and the whole country began to rise about them, some made their recourse presently to their friends for protection, some relying upon their neighbours, others upon their landlords, others upon their tenants and servants for preservation, or at least, present safety; and with great confidence put their lives, their wives, their children, and all they had into their power. But these generally either betrayed them into the hands of other rebels, or most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands. The priests had now charmed the Irish, and laid such

such bloody impressions in them, as it was held, according to the maxims they had received, a mortal sin to give any manner of relief or protection to any of the English. All bonds and ties of faith and friendship were now broken; the Irish landlords made a prey of their English tenants; Irish tenants and servants a sacrifice of their English landlords and masters; one neighbour cruelly murdered by another; the very Irish children in the very beginning fell to strip and kill English children: all other relations were quite cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meretorious work in any of them that could by any means or ways whatsoever, bring an English man to the slaughter. A work not very difficult to be compassed as things then stood. For they living promiscuously among the British, in all parts having from their priests received the watch-word both for time and place, rose up, as it were, actuated by one and the same spirit, in all places of those counties before-mentioned at one and the same point of time; and so in a moment fell upon them, murdering some, stripping only or expelling others out of their habitations. This bred such a general terroure and astonishment among the English, as they knew not what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their servants were killed as they were ploughing in the fields, husbands cut to pieces in the presence of their wives; their children's brains dashed out before their faces; others had all their goods and cattel seized and carried away; their houses burnt; their habitations laid waste, and all as it were at an instant before they could suspect the Irish for their enemies,

1845.

The intermixture of the English among the Irish a main cause of their sudden destruction.

1647.

mies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer so great violence, or do such mischief unto them.

The Irish falsify their oaths and protestations to the English, and after quarter given them in several places, murder and destroy them.

Now for such of the English as stood upon their guard, and had gathered together, though but in small numbers, the Irish had recourse to their antient stratagem, which as they have formerly, so they still continued to make frequent use of in this present rebellion. And that was fairly to offer unto them good conditions of quarter; to assure them their lives, their goods, and free passage with a safe conduct into what place soever they pleased, and to confirm these covenants sometimes under their hands and seals, sometimes with deep oaths and protestations; and then as soon as they had them in their power, to hold themselves dis-obliged from their promises, and to leave their soldiers at liberty to despoil, strip, and murder them at their pleasure. Thus were the poor English treated, who had shut themselves up in the great cathedral church at Armagh, by sir Phelim O Neal, and his brother Turlogh. Thus were such of the English used by Phillip O Rely, who had retired themselves to Belterbet, the best planted town in the county of Cavan. And after the same barbarous manner were such of the English drawn out to the slaughter, as had gotten into the castle of Longford, the castle of Tullogh in the county of Fermanagh, or the church of Newtown in the same county, and several other places; as appears by several examinations taken upon oath, from persons that hardly escaped thence with their lives. And besides these other policies they used, some to distract and discourage them,

1641.

Several policies used by the Irish to prevent the English from rising against them or the Scots to join in their defence.

them, others to dissuade them to stand out to make any defence. As in several places the Irish came under divers pretences, and borrowed such weapons and arms as the English had in their houses; and no sooner got them into their hands, but they turned them out of their own doors, as they did at Glalough in the county of Monaghan: and by the same means they very gently and fairly got into their possession all the English arms in the county of Cavan: the high-sheriff there being an Irish man and a papist, pretending that he took their arms to secure them only against the violence of such of the Irish as he understood to be in arms in the next county. And that they might the more easily effect the destruction of the English, and keep off the Scots from giving them any assistance; they openly professed to spare, as really they did at the first, all of the Scottish nation; and pretended they would suffer them, as likewise all English papists, to live quietly among them; hoping thereby to contain all of that nation from taking up arms, till they had mastered all the English, and that then they should be well enough enabled to deal with them. Thus were the poor English prepared for the slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the Irish on all sides about them, as they could never put themselves into any posture of defence. And although in many places they made small parties, and betook themselves into several churches and castles, some of which were most gallantly long defended by them, yet did they not draw together in any such considerable body, as would enable them to make good their party in the field, against the

1641.

The English stand upon the defence of their private houses without joining together in one body, whereby they give great advantage to the rebels.

the numerous forces of the rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterously attempt it in any part of that province, as I could hear of; every man betaking himself the best he could to the care of his own house, and seeking how to save his own family, his goods within, and his cattle without. And so while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private preservation, not joining their forces together for the common safety, they gave the rebels a fair opportunity, and a singular advantage, to work out with great facility their common destruction. Whereas if they had deserted their houses upon the first notice of the rising up of the Irish, and in the several counties put themselves into several bodies, under the commands of the chief English gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly (how ill soever they were provided of arms and munition) been able to have encountered the Irish, and to have beat them out of many parts of the country, or at least, to have put them to some stand in their enterprise. Whereas, by the course they took, they most readily, without almost any resistance, exposed themselves to the merciless cruelty of the Irish, who at the very first (for some few days after their breaking out) did not in most places murder many of them: but the course they took, was to seize upon all their goods and cattle, to strip them, their wives and children naked; and in that miserable plight, the weather being most bitter cold and frosty, to turn them out of their houses, to drive them to the mountains, to wander through the woods and bogs; and if they by any means procured any other cloaths, or but even ordinary rags to cover

cover their nakedness, they were presently taken from them again, and none suffered to give them any kind of shelter by the way, relief, or entertainment, without incurring the heavy displeasure of their priests and chief commanders. And so they drove such of the English, whose lives they thought fit at that time to spare, clear out of the country. Some of them took their journey towards Carrickfergus, others towards Colerain, Derry, and other of the northern ports. Many who had gotten together and stood upon their guard, came to composition with their bloody assailants, and gave them their goods, plate and money, for leave to come up to the city of Dublin. And having bought their licence at so dear a rate, had passes and convoys assigned them by the chief captains of the rebels, and so came on their way in great troops of men, women and children. Out of the country of Cavan, as Mr. Creighton (who by his charitable relief of great numbers of them, preserved them from perishing) testifies in his examination, there passed by his house in one company, one thousand four hundred persons, in another five hundred, from Newtown in the county of Fermanagh, in others lesser numbers; all without any weapons, or any thing else but the very cloaths on their backs, which they suffered them not to carry away with them; but many were most barbarously stripped of them, by those who undertook to give them safe conduct, or perfidiously betrayed by them into the hands of other rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded, and all in a manner, whatsoever they had to cover their nakedness, taken from most of them; as may appear by the examination of

1641.

Adam Clover's examination.

Adam Clover of Slonofy in the county of Cavan, who being duly sworn, deposeth, *inter alia*, that this deponent and his company that were robbed, observed, that thirty persons or thereabouts, were then most barbarously murdered and slain outright, and about one hundred and fifty more persons cruelly wounded; so that traces of blood issuing from their wounds, lay upon the high-way for twelve miles together, and many very young children, were left and perished by the way, to the number of sixty or thereabouts; because the cruel pursuit of the rebels was such, that their parents and friends could not carry them further. And further saith, that some of the rebels vowed, that if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead children, they should be buried therein themselves: so the poor people left the most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls, and some few their parents carried a great way to bury them. And this deponent further saith, that he saw upon the way a woman, left by the rebels, stripped to her smock, set upon by three women and some Irish children, who miserably rent and tore the said poor English-woman, and stripped her of her smock in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell in labour under their hands, and both she and her child died there. Thus did their mercy in sparing those miserable souls in this manner prove by much a far greater cruelty, than if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thousand of British that fell into their hands. For now they starved and perished in multitudes upon the ways as they travelled along; and to those that out-lived the misery of their journey, their limbs only served to drag up their

their bodies to christian burial, there denied unto them. For many of the men, and most of the women and children that thus escaped, either to Dublin, or other places of safety in the north, not long out-lived the bitterness of their passage; but either overwhelmed with grief, or outwearied with travel, contracted those diseases which furthered by hunger, cold, nakedness, ill-lodgings, and want of other necessaries, struck deeply into bodies that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with sorrow to their graves.

These were the first fruits of this rebellion, which now began to dilate itself into the other provinces, having covered over the northern parts of the kingdom with fearful disolations. The first plotters were yet undiscovered, but the great active instruments appointed for the execution of this horrid design fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody massacres of the English. Sir Phelim O Neal being the chief of that sect, and now the person remaining of nearest alliance to the late earl of Tyrone, assumed to himself the chief power among the rebels in Ulster; and by his directions guided the rest of his complices on, in the destruction of all the English there. He was one of very mean parts without courage or conduct; his education for a great part of his youth was in England; he was admitted a student of Lincoln's-Inn, and there trained up in the protestant religion, which he soon changed after, if not before his return into Ireland, lived loosely, and having no considerable estate, by reason of the great engagement upon it, became of very little esteem in all

1641.
Sir Phelim
O Neal's
proceed-
ings.

1641.

opinions. Yet such were the over zealous affections of his country-men in this cause, their secrecy in attempting, their suddenness in executing, as by their forwardness to destroy the English and get their goods, he quickly overrun that part of the country. He had prevailed so far within seven days after he first appeared in this rebellion, by seizing most treacherously at the very first upon Charlemont, where the lord Caulfield lay with his foot-company, the forts of Dunganon and Montjoy, as that in his letter written to father Patrick O Donnell his confessor, bearing date from Montjoy, the 30th of October, he was able to brag of great and many victories. And presently after he had gotten such a multitude of rude fellows together, though in very ill equipage, as he marched down with great numbers of men towards Lisnagarvy, near the chief plantation of the Scots; (for that part of their plot to spare them, as they did in the beginning, they found now too gross to take, therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy) and yet left sufficient forces to come up into the pale, to take in Dundalke in the county of Lowth, which was a frontier town in the last wars against Tyron, and so well defended itself, as with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands; there lay now a foot-company of the old army, but the lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readiness, nor arms or munition, made little or no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants, who delivered up the town into the possession of the rebels about the beginning of November, 1641.

Dundalke
taken by
the rebels
about the
beginning of
November
1641.

The

The rebels presently after their taking in of Dondalke, marched on further into the county of Lowth, and possessed themselves of Ardee, a little town within seven miles of Tredagh, anciently called Drohedagh. So as it was now high time to provide for the safety of that town, the lord Moore had already retired thither from his house at Millifont, and there remained with his troop of horse and two companies of foot. One was under the command of sir John Netterville, eldest son to the lord viscount Netterville. He discovered in the very beginning much virulency in his affections, by giving false frights and raising false rumours, and making all manner of ill insinuations into the minds of the townsmen, who as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the rebels. It is verily believed they had in the very beginning some plot to cut off the lord Moore and seize upon his troop; and that sir John Netterville's part was to begin a mutiny, which he attempted that night he was to be upon the watch, by giving ill language, and endeavouring to make a quarrel with his lordship, which he very discreetly passed over, and so carefully looked to the guard of the town, as they could take no advantage to put on their design. Howsoever the townsmen were extremely frightened with the thoughts of their present danger, and the greater part of them being papists, were ready to declare themselves for the catholic cause; only their desires were, things might be so ordered, as would administer unto them specious pretences of necessity for the same. The lord Moore gave present advertisement unto the lords justices and council, of the ill

1642.

The rebels
march up
towards
Tredagh.

1641.

The ill
condition
of Tredagh
represented
by the L.
Moore to
the lords
justices.

A regiment
raised by
the lords
justices at
Dublin,
and sent
down un-
der the
command
of sir Hen-
Tichborn,
for the de-
fence of
Tredagh,
Novem. 3

condition and most imminent danger he found the town to be then in, that it was not possible to preserve it out of the hands of the rebels without further strength both of horse and foot. That in case the enemy should make any sudden approaches, or attempt to surprize the town, he found such poor preparatives for defence within, such apparent signs of disloyalty in the townsmen, and all things in such a desperate confusion, as they should not be able by the best endeavours they could use to give any good account of that place. Hereupon their lordships presently resolved, to levy in the city of Dublin a regiment of foot, and to place them under the command of sir Henry Tichborn for the defence of Tredagh. And for this purpose there was very opportunely in the hands of the vice-treasurer 3000l. in a readiness to be at that time sent over into England, for the satisfaction of a publick engagement there. This the lords thought fit to make use of, for the levying and setting out of those men which sir Henry Tichborn got together in very few days, and having a commission of government for the town, with some other private instructions, he marched away with great alacrity and dilligence the 3d of November, and happily arrived next day at Tredagh.

A regiment
raised by
sir C. Coote.

The lords granted another commission to sir Charles Coote to levy a thousand men more, which he most carefully endeavoured, and within a very short time made up his regiment, wherein very many of the English, who came up stripped and despoiled out of the North listed themselves; for most of the men which escaped from thence with their lives, being

being better able to suffer than the women and children, out-lived the miseries of their journey, and putting themselves into several companies, some of them had the contentment to revenge the barbarous cruelty used by the rebels towards them.

Upon the fifth of November, the lords made their second dispatch unto his Majesty, still at Edinburgh in Scotland: at the same time they sent several letters into England, to the lord keeper, speaker of the house of peers, to the speaker of the house of commons, to the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; in all which they did with much earnestness declare their present dangers, together with the necessity of sending sudden relief. In their letter to the lords of the council they did more particularly set down the miserable estate of the whole kingdom, and the large progress that the rebellion had in few days made since it broke out. They represented unto their lordships the great outrages the rebels had committed upon the British inhabitants in Ulster, that they had seized upon all their estates and houses in five counties of that province, possessed their arms, detained many of the principal gentlemen prisoners; that they had already slain many, most barbarously hewed some to pieces, that they have exposed thousands to want and beggary, who had good estates and lived plentifully: that the rebellion began then to diffuse itself into the counties of Longford and Letrim, and to threaten the English plantations in the kings and queens counties: that the inhabitants of the counties of Meath and Lowth began to fall upon the English near about them: that

The second
dispatch
made by
the lords
justices and
council into
England,
Novem. 5.

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they conceived there could not be less than 30000 who had already openly declared themselves in this rebellion, and were assembled together in several great parties; that they understood their design was, having got Duncalke, to take in Tredagh, and some to come up immediately to besiege the city and castle of Dublin: That they gave out publicly, their purpose was to extirpate the English and Protestants, and not to lay down arms until the Romish religion were established, the government settled in the hands of the natives, and the old Irish restored to the lands of their supposed ancestors. That they held it their duty to acquaint their lordships with the lamentable estate wherein the kingdom stood, that his majesty and the parliament might understand it, and so speedily provide for sending over to their relief 10000 foot, 1000 horse, together with some able commanders, 100000*l.* in money, and further provisions of arms: that unless these were presently sent to them (they craved leave to repeat it again and again) the kingdom would be utterly lost, all the English and Protestants in Ireland destroyed, the peace of the kingdom of England disturbed by the Irish from thence, and so England enforced to make a new conquest of it, for that a politick reformation would then be impossible.

The proceedings of the parliament of England upon the first advertisements brought unto them of the rebellion raised in Ireland.

But now before I pass further, I shall here give an accompt of the arrival of these and the former letters of the 25th of October, addressed by the lords justices and council to the lord lieutenant of Ireland. Owen O Conally, the happy discoverer of the first plot (who carried the first letters over) arrived at London the last day of October, and late in the evening

ing delivered those letters to his lordship, who having read them over, and received from him full information of all other particulars within his knowledge, repaired the next morning to the council-board, and having there acquainted the lords of his majesty's privy-council with them, he was requir'd by their lordships to communicate them unto the lords of the upper house of parliament, which he did accordingly the very same morning: and they considering the high importance of them, as soon as they had perused them, ordered that they should be presently sent down to the house of commons, by the lord keeper, the lord privy-seal, lord high-chamberlain, lord admiral, lord marshal, lord chamberlain, earl of Bath, earl of Dorset, earl of Leiceſter, earl of Holland, earl of Berks, earl of Bristol, lord viscount Say, earl of Mandevile, lord Goring, lord Wilmot, all of them being of his majesty's most honourable privy council. There were chairs provided for these lords in the house of commons, and they sat down there till the letters were read, and then having informed the house of such other particulars as they had received concerning the general rebellion in Ireland, they departed without any further conference or other debate upon them, leaving the house of commons to consider further of them: who presently ordered,

That the house forthwith should be resolved into a committee, to take into consideration the matter offered concerning the rebellion in Ireland, as likewise to provide for the safety of the kingdom of England.

This being done, they fell into a most serious debate of this great business then before them, they fully considered what means were fittest

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fitteſt to be uſed at preſent for the prevention of the further ſpreading of that hideous rebellion in Ireland, as well as ſtopping of the ill influence it might make upon their affairs in England, where great troubles even then began to appear within view. And after much time ſpent in this debate, they came to theſe ſeveral concluſions, which being put to the queſtion, were aſſented unto by the committee, and ſo reſolved as followeth.

1. That 50000 l. be forthwith provided.
2. That a conference be deſired with the lords, to move them that a ſelect committee of the members of both houſes may be appointed to go to the city of London, and to make a declaration unto them of the ſtate of the buſineſs in Ireland, and to acquaint them that the lending of monies at this time will be an acceptable ſervice to the commonwealth. And that they propoſe unto them the loan of 50000 l. and to aſſure them that they ſhall be ſecured both of the principal and intereſt, by act of parliament.
3. That a ſelect committee may be named by both houſes to conſider of the affairs of Ireland.
4. That Owen O Conally, who diſcovered this great treaſon, ſhall have 500 l. preſently paid him, and 200 l. per annum penſion, until proviſion of land of inheritance of a greater value be made for him.
5. That the perſons of papiſts of quality within this kingdom, may be ſecured within the ſeveral counties where they reſide.
6. That no perſon whatſoever, except thoſe who are merchants, ſhall be admitted to go over into Ireland, without certificates from the

the committee of both houses appointed to consider the affairs of Ireland.

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These with several other particulars concerning Ireland, and tending in order to the safety of the kingdom of England, were resolved upon the question, and Mr. Whitlock appointed to report them to the house as heads of a conference desired with the lords concerning the affairs of Ireland, which was accordingly had with their lordships the same day; at which conference the lord keeper did express the very great sense the lords had of the exceeding great care taken by the house of commons for the prevention of the further spreading of the rebellion in Ireland. And his lordship by command of the lords did further let them know, that their lordships did think fit to agree with them in all those particulars presented unto them by the house of commons without any material alteration, only adding such further things as they conceived might serve to further and expedite their desires in the more speedy putting them in execution.

The house of commons having proceeded thus far in the affairs of Ireland, upon the two first days after the discovery made unto them, of the rebellion there raised, did notwithstanding their own present distractions, set a-part some portion almost of every day that they sat, during the whole month of November, for the considering of the affairs of Ireland; and so upon the third and fourth of the same, resolved upon the question, and accordingly ordered these particulars following:

1. That

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1. That the house holds fit that 20,000l. be forthwith supplied for the present occasions of Ireland.

2. That a convenient number of ships shall be provided for the guarding of the sea-coasts of Ireland.

3. That this house holds fit that 6000 foot and 2000 horse shall be raised with all convenient speed, for the present expedition into Ireland.

4. That the lord lieutenant shall present to both houses of parliament, such officers as he shall think fit to send into Ireland, to command any forces to be transported thither.

5. That magazines of victuals shall be forthwith provided at West-Chester to be sent over to Dublin, as the occasions of that kingdom shall require.

6. That the magazines of arms, ammuniti-
on, and powder, now in Carlisle, shall be forth-
with sent over to Knockfergus in Ireland.

7. That it be referred to the king's council, to consider of some fit way, and to present it to the house, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to such as shall do service in this expedition into Ireland; and for a pardon of such of the rebels in Ireland as shall come in by a time limited, and of a sum of money to be appointed for a reward to such as shall bring in the heads of such principal rebels as shall be nominated.

8. That letters shall be forthwith sent to the justices in Ireland, to acquaint them how sensible this house is of the affairs of Ireland.

9. That the committee of Irish affairs shall consider how, and in what manner this kingdom shall make use of the friendship and assistance

assistance of Scotland in the business of Ireland.

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10. That directions shall be given for the drawing of a bill for the pressing of men for this particular service for Ireland.

These particulars, together with several others, being resolved upon the question, they passed an ordinance of parliament, enabling the earl of Leiceſter, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to raise 3500 foot and 600 horſe, for the preſent ſervice there. And they further expreſſed their reſolution, not to make uſe of the aſſiſtance offered unto them by their brethren of Scotland further for the preſent, than for the furniſhing them with 1000 foot, which they deſired might be transported out of Scotland into the north of Ireland. And on the ſame day they ordered, that the maſter of his majeſty's ordnance ſhould deliver to the lord lieutenant of Ireland the number of 1000 arms for horſe, and 8000 arms for foot, and ten laſts of powder, to be preſently ſent into Ireland. And that the lord admiral ſhould ſuddenly provide ſhipping for the transporting of men, arms, and ammunition, and other proviſions according to the former reſolutions of the houſe.

Now while both houſes of parliament were taking order for raiſing men, money, and ſending proviſions and other neceſſaries for Ireland, there arrived thoſe other letters of the 5th of November, formerly mentioned, which being addreſſed to the lords of his majeſty's privy council, were communicated to both houſes of parliament; who, after a conference upon them, took further reſolutions for the ſpeedy ſending away ſupplies into Ireland. And ſuch were the forward aſſections
and

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and zeal of the house of commons, to promote what concerned the service of Ireland, as they thereupon voted 200000*l.* to be raised for the suppressing the Irish rebellion, and for securing of the kingdom of England, and payment of the publick debts.

And that they might facilitate this great work of raising such a sum of money, upon credit of an act of parliament, before the money could be collected throughout the kingdom; they thought fit, for the better encouragement of the city of London, and for the giving them full satisfaction in point of security for the monies so formerly lent them, to make this order following.

The lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, having a due regard to the good affections of the city of London, expressed upon sundry occasions by the advancing and lending of great sums of money, for the service of this common-wealth, and particularly the sum of 50000*l.* lent for the Irish affairs; and the sum of 50000*l.* more lent by the said city unto the peers attending his majesty in the northern parts, before the beginning of this present parliament, which are not yet paid, or otherwise secured, shall be fully satisfied and repaid unto the said city of London, with interest of 8*l.* per ct. for one year, out of such monies as are or shall be raised by authority of parliament. And for that purpose an act of parliament to be passed with all expedition. Provided always that this present ordinance shall not in any ways be prejudicial to any members of the said house of Commons, who have formerly lent any sums of money to this parliament; nor to the northern counties, nor to any persons whatsoever,

whatsoever, to whom both houses of parliament, or the said house of commons have formerly ordered the payment of any sums of money, nor to any security given to them, before the making of this ordinance.

But I shall now return to the affairs of this kingdom, and the serious consultations and means used here by the justices and council for the securing of the city and castle of Dublin, which by reason of the present confusion, weakness, and wants, were in very great, and most apparent danger of a sudden surprize.

And first for the castle, sir Francis Willoughby being made governor, had a company of an hundred men well armed, assigned for the constant guard of that place, besides the ordinary warders, who gave their usual attendance there. And because the lords conceived it might be dangerous in such desperate times to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the castle, as had daily occasion to attend the council-board, they presently transferred the place of their meeting in council to Cork-house, where they continued to sit a good time after, notwithstanding the great danger their persons were continually exposed unto, by the confident resort in great numbers of several lords, gentlemen and others, who within few days after declared themselves rebels, and so went out among them. It was God's immediate providence that preserved them, and suffered not those persons, who soon after became such bloody rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly, they might with great ease have taken out of the way the lords justices and council, and so have left all things

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in such confusion as would have brought on their long desired ends without any further contestation or trouble.

The next care was to provide victuals for the castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a siege, in case the town, either through treachery within, or by forces from without, should come to be surpris'd by the rebels, who now carried all things so clearly before them in the north, as they most confidently gave it out, they would suddenly come down and make themselves masters of it. How to compass this, seem'd a matter of great difficulty, in regard there was no money to be had for the performing this work so absolutely necessary in itself, and at that time so highly importing the safety and preservation, even of the whole kingdom. Therefore the master of the rolls, upon whom the lords were pleas'd to impose this service of victualling the castle, took the advantage of the strange frights, fears, and little safety, all the English and Protestants, conceived both themselves and their goods to remain in at that time. He sent presently for some of the chief merchants that were protestants in the town, and clearly represent'd unto them, the high necessities of the state, the great danger of the town, the publick benefit, and their own private security, in laying into the castle such of their provisions as they had lying by them even in unsafe places of the city. These impressions took, and they rightly apprehended the common danger, that they could not out-live the ruins of the castle; partly out of their own good affections to the service, partly out of a prudent care to secure their goods, were content to bring in great

Order
taken for
victualling
the castle
of Dublin.

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great quantities of beef, herrings, and corn upon the matter of the rell's undertaking to see them satisfied, in case use were made of them, or otherwise certain restitution in kind to the several owners. So as there were presently laid in by the English and Dutch merchants, within the verge of the castle, above two thousand barrels of beef, two thousand barrels of herrings, and a good proportion of wheat; provisions sufficient, not only to victual the castle for many months, but which did serve to maintain the whole army billeted in the city a long time after; and their money they received within few months after, by certificate from hence upon the chamber of London; according to an order made by both houses of parliament in England, for present payment to be made to such as laid in any provisions for the army in Ireland. There was then further order taken to new dig and clear an old well, long since stopped up, within the walls of the castle; and to provide all other necessaries fit for a siege. This was the first step to the safety of this place, and gave great comfort and security to all the English and protestants.

The lords justices care to provide for the safety of the city of Dublin.

The castle being thus happily provided for, the lords took it next into their care how to secure the city in some fort, against any sudden attempts. And this proved a work not easy to be effected, not only in regard of the craziness of the walls, the large suburbs, and weakness of the place; but much more in respect of the corrupt ill affections of the popish inhabitants within the city: so strangely were many of them deluded with the ill insinuations of their priests, as they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful experience) do all

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that

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that in them lay, to promote the rebellious designs then set on foot (as they believed) only for the re-settlement of their religion, and recovery of their liberties. They were the instruments to convey away privately most of the chief conspirators, who would have surpris'd the castle on the 23d of October. They secretly entertained many of the rebels that came out of the country; they likewise sent them relief that were abroad, by secret ways, conveying as well ammunition, as intelligence of all passages from hence. And such strong averfions had they against all contributions for the maintenance of his majesty's army, as in the very beginning of the rebellion, when the lords sent for the mayor and aldermen, and laying before them the high necessities of the state, together with the apparent danger of the whole city and kingdom, desired to borrow a considerable sum of money for the present, which they undertook to repay out of the next treasure that should arrive out of England: the popish party among them was so prevalent, as that, after a most serious consultation and very solemn debate among themselves, they returned this answer, That they were not able to furnish above forty pounds, and part of that was to be brought in in cattle.

Several Irish soldiers embarked under pretence of being carried into Spain at the very time of the first breaking out of the rebellion.

There remained at this time embarked within the harbour of Dublin, four hundred Irish soldiers, ready, as was pretended, to set sail for Spain, under the command of colonel John Barry, who, with some other Irish gentlemen, had procured leave from his majesty to levy certain numbers of voluntiers to be transported over for the service of the king of Spain. And those levied in other parts,

as well as at Dublin, were brought together just at the very time design'd for the execution of the great plot. The Pretence was specious, but certainly their intentions, how finely soever cover'd over, were to have those men in a readiness together, at the very time appointed for the first breaking out of these unnatural troubles. And as for those men which lay within the harbour of Dublin, they were so great a terror to all the protestant inhabitants in the city, as it exceedingly perplexed the lords how to dispose of them as might prevent the mischief justly feared, in case of their landing. Their commanders had so handsomely ordered the matter, as though they were designed for a long voyage, yet stay on ship-board any longer they could not, by reason they had no victuals, not even enough to carry them out of the harbour; and no man had order, in the absence of colonel Barry, who retired himself some few miles out of the town, the very evening before the castle should have been taken, to provide for the further supplying of them. To suffer them to land, was to add so many instruments of mischief to those already gathered within and about the city. Therefore it was resolv'd, that the captain of the king's pinnace, then in the harbour, should by force keep them from landing; which he did several days together, till it was apparent they would inevitably starve, if a course were not suddenly taken to afford them some relief. Whereupon the lords having no means to victual them aboard, gave them leave to land, having first taken order they should not come into the city.

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Several
proclama-
tions issued
out by the
lords justi-
ces and
council.

The lords justices and council thought fit within very few days after the landing of these men, the more to deter them, and all other ill affected persons from repairing to the city of Dublin, to issue out a proclamation for the discovery and present removal of all such as did or should come and continue there without just or necessary cause. But so careful were they in this, and all other their actions, not to give any distaste to the Irish or other inhabitants of the country, as they forbore to inflict any punishment upon any that continued in the city contrary to their proclamation, sparing several persons whom they had not only just cause to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered speeches clearly discovering their ill affections. And having by late proclamations prorogued the parliament, and adjourned Michaelmas term, that under pretence of repair to either of them, unnecessary concourse of strangers might not be brought unto the town, they proceeded on to some other acts, which as they conceived would not only render great security to the city, but lessen the distempers abroad, bring safety to the pale, and keep the dangers at distance, and far off from them. And for this purpose they being informed, that a multitude of the meaner sort of people were ignorantly involved in the guilt of this rebellion, and by the wicked seducement of the first conspirators had been drawn on to despoil their English neighbours, they issued out a proclamation about the beginning of the month of November, declaring unto all such as were not freeholders within the counties of Meath, West-Meath, Lowth, and Longford; that if they would come in
and

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and submit, make restitution of the goods so taken, they should be received to his majesty's mercy, and no further prosecution held against them.

Much about the time of the sending forth of this proclamation, some of the chief of the sept of the Rely's, and other prime gentlemen in the county of Cavan, sent up a kind of remonstrance to the lords justices and council. Whereunto they returned them a very fair answer, assuring them of their readiness to give all just redress of their grievances expressed therein, so they would in the mean time retire peaceably to their houses, restore, as they were able, the English men's goods, and forbear all further acts of rapine and violence. And they did presently send over their remonstrance to the lord lieutenant, to be presented to his majesty, according to their desires. But these ways of moderation and peaceable persuasions, proved of very little effect, they had no manner of influence into the resolved minds of the leaders, or of operation upon the hardened hearts of the people; they were too deeply engaged, so slightly to retire. They had now drenched themselves into the blood of the English, and were greatly enriched with their spoils. It was not possible for them to make restitution, and they hoped to go through with the work, and by the united power of the kingdom to draw the whole management of the affairs into their own hands.

A remonstrance sent up to the lords justices and council, from the rebels in the county of Cavan.

And now likewise the lords justices, and council, that they might shew the great confidence they had in the lords and chief gentlemen of the pale, and give them both opportunity and means to express their loyalty

Commissions of martial law granted unto several persons by the lords justices.

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and affections to his majesty's service, resolved (according as the constitution of their affairs then required) to do some such acts as might clearly persuade them of the great trust they really reposed in them. And therefore first they gave out several commissions of martial law, for executing (without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary course of the common law) of such traitors and rebels as should be apprehended doing mischief in any parts of the country about them. And these they directed to the most active gentlemen, though all papists, inhabiting in the several counties; as, to Henry Talbot in the county of Dublin, John Bellew, esq; in the county of Lowth, Richard Dalton and James Tuit, esqrs; in the county of West-Meath, Valerian Wesley, in the county of Meath, James Talbot in the county of Cavan.

Commis-
sions of
govern-
ment of the
several
counties
within the
pale, grant-
ed to feve-
ral lords
and gentle-
men, with-
out distinc-
tion of
Religion.

Next they made choice of the chief persons of quality residing in the said counties of the pale, and others adjacent to them, to govern and command such forces as should be raised by them, and armed by the state for the defence of the country, and issued out from the council-board several commissions of government unto them. As, one to the earl of Ormond and the lord viscount Montgarret, for the county of Kilkenny; to Walter Bagnall, esq; for the county of Catherlagh; sir James Dillon the elder, and sir James Dillon the younger for the county of Longford; lord viscount Costeloe for the county of Mayo; sir Robert Talbot and Garret Birne, for the county of Wicklow; sir Christopher Bellew for the county of Lowth; earl of Kildare for the county of Kildare; sir Thomas Nugent for the county of West-Meath; Nicholas Barnwell for

for the county of Dublin; lord viscount Gormanstone for the county of Meath. All these were made choice of without distinction of religion; the lords holding it fit at that time to put the chief persons of power in the country into those places of trust; hoping they might prove good instruments to oppose the threatening incursions of the northern rebels, which they knew them well enabled to perform, if they would really join in the service, or at least be kept by this their great confidence in them, from giving any entertainment or assistance to their rebellious designs.

The commission directed to the lord of Gormanstone, I have thought fit here to insert. It was found afterwards in his study by some of his majesty's army, when he and all the rest of the governors that were of the Romish religion, thus chosen, deserted their houses, and openly declared themselves in actual rebellion. The other commissions were all of the same tenor.

By the lords justices and council.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

RIGHT trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas divers most disloyal and maghignant persons within this kingdom, have traiterously conspired against his majesty, his peace, crown and dignity; and many of them in execution of their conspiracy, are traiterously assembled together in a warlike manner, and have most inhumanly made destruction and devastation of the persons and estates of divers of his majesty's good and loyal subjects of this kingdom, and taken, slain and imprisoned great numbers of them. We

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out of our care and zeal for the common good, being desirous by all means to suppress the said treasons and traitors, and to conserve the persons and fortunes of his majesty's loving subjects here in safety; and to prevent the further spoil and devastation of his majesty's good people here; do therefore hereby require and authorize you to levy, raise and assemble, all, every, or any the forces, as well foot-men as horse-men within the county of Meath, giving you hereby the command in chief of all the said forces; and hereby further requiring and authorizing you as commander of them in chief, to arm, array, divide, distribute, dispose, conduct, lead, and govern in chief the said forces, according to your best discretion; and with the said forces, to resist, pursue, follow, apprehend, and put to death, slay and kill, as well by battle as other-ways, all and singular the said conspirators, traitors, and all their adherents, according to your discretion; and according to your conscience and discretion to proceed against them, or any of them, by martial law, by hanging them, or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accustomed in time of open rebellion; and also to take, waste, and spoil their, or any of their castles, holds, forts, houses, goods and territories, or otherwise to preserve the lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into his majesty's favour and mercy, and forbear the devastation of their, or any of their castles, forts, houses, holds, goods, and territories aforementioned, according to your discretion: further hereby requiring and authorising you to do, execute, and perform, all and singular such other things for examination of persons suspected, discovering
of

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of traitors and their adherents, passing with, and granting protections to them; or any of them, taking up of carts, carriages, and other conveniencies, sending and retaining espials, victualling the said forces, and other things whatsoever conducing to the purpose aforementioned, as you in your discretion shall think fit, and the necessity of the service require; further hereby requiring and authorizing you, as commander in chief, to constitute and appoint such officers and ministers respectively, for the better performance and execution of all and singular the premises, as you in your discretion shall think fit. And we do hereby require and command, all and singular his majesty's sheriffs, officers and ministers, and loving subjects, of and within the county of Meath, and the borders thereof, upon their faith and allegiance to his majesty, and to his crown, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to you, in the doing, and executing of all and singular the premises: this our commission to continue during our pleasure only, and for the so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin,
November 1641.

R. Dillon, Jo. Temple,
Ja. Ware. Rob. Meredith.

To our very good lord Nicholas,
vic. com. Gormanstone.

In these commissions it is very observable, that there was power given to these lords and gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to use fire and sword, for the destruction

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struction of the rebels and their adherents, but also to preserve the lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them into his majesty's favour or mercy. This plainly shews the very great confidence the lords were pleased to repose in them; as also their desires to make them instruments, to deliver those multitudes of people that engaged themselves in this rebellion, from the power, either of his majesty's arms, or civil justice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious nation; and they at the first applied lenitives, which failing in the cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourse to more violent medicines.

Arms and
munition
delivered
out to the
lords and
chief gen-
tlemen of
the pale, by
the lords
justices and
council.

That these governors thus constituted, might be the better enabled according to the authority and power given unto them by their several commissions, to undertake the defence of the country in this high extremity of the near approaching dangers. The lords took order to have delivered unto them a certain proportion of arms, to be employed for the arming of some men to be raised in each county for the common safety, besides the arms they gave them, and other gentlemen, for the defence of their own private houses. As to the lord of Gormanstone, there were delivered arms for five hundred men, for the county of Meath. There were also delivered arms for three hundred men for the county of Kildare. Arms for three hundred men for the county of Lowth. Arms for three hundred men for the county of Westmeath. Arms for three hundred men for the county of Dublin. And about the same time there were sent down four hundred muskets, to the lords of the Ardes and

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and Clandeboys, for the arming of the Scots, in the county of Down. All of these had powder, lead, and match, proportionable to their arms; at the same time delivered unto them.

But now the poison of this rebellion which had hitherto contained itself within the northern counties, and the confines of them, began to be diffused into other parts of the kingdom. It had already infected the counties of Letrim, Longford, West-Meath, and Lowth, lying contiguous unto them. And upon the 12th of November, the Irish in the county of Wicklow brake out most furiously, despoiling, robbing and murdering all the English inhabitants within that territory. They burnt all their fair, well built houses, drove away their cattle, and laid siege to fort Carew, wherein was a foot company of the old army. The news being brought to the lords justices thereof, they well considered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the rebels, and that whole county in their possession, they could expect little quietness, or even safety in the city, by reason of their near neighbourhood. Whereupon they were most desirous to have sent down forces for the relief of it. But when they came on the other side to consider their want of means for the performance of that service, that they had no money, but few men, and many of them not fit to be trusted; that it would be very dangerous to divide their small forces, and so to leave the city in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aside that resolution, and with great grief to sit still and suffer the poor English in those parts to be exposed to the merciless

Several counties within the province of Lienster declare themselves for the rebels.

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merciless cruelties of these barbarous rebels who went on furiously with the work, and quickly clear'd all the county of the English inhabitants. Within few days after, the Irish in the counties of Wexford and Caterlagh began to rise likewise, and to follow the bloody examples of their neighbours. There were now also great appearances of the disloyalty of the county of Kildare, who with large protestations under the pretence of doing service, had got into their hands the arms and munition designed for them by the state. And so mysterious and doubtful was the carriage of the lords and chief gentlemen of the English pale, giving no manner of intelligence to the state of the proceedings of the rebels, nor making any kind of preparatives against them, as their infections began even then to be justly suspected.

The sad
condition
of the city
of Dublin.

So as the city of Dublin being the receptacle of the whole state, the magazine of all the arms, munition, and other provisions for the army, and the chief sanctuary of all the English and despoiled Protestants, was now reduced to a very sad condition, desperately encompassed on every side, the northern rebels being come down in two several parties with great forces within twenty miles of it on the one side, and the rebels of the county of Wicklow infesting it on the other side; which with the great resort of strangers, and the continual rumours of new plots and devices to surprize the town, possessed the protestants with extraordinary fears of their present danger. But that which made their condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of multitudes of English that came up in troops, stripped and miserably

The resort
of men wo-
men and
children to
the city of
Dublin, in
a most mi-
serable po-
sture.

miserably despoiled, out of the North. Many persons of good rank and quality, cover'd over with old rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness, some reverend ministers, and others that had escaped with their lives, sorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murders of their husbands; mothers of their children, barbarously destroyed before their faces, poor infants ready to perish and pour out their souls in their mothers bosoms: some over-wearied with long travel, and so furbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the ghost in the streets: others over-whelmed with grief, distracted with their losses, lost also their senses.

Thus was the town, within the compass of a few days after the breaking out of this rebellion, filled with these most lamentable spectacles of sorrow, which in great numbers wandred up and down in all parts of the city, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no cloathing to cover their nakedness, no food to fill their hungry bellies. And to add to their miseries, they found all manner of relief very disproportionate to their wants, the popish inhabitants refusing to minister the least comfort unto them; so as those sad creatures appeared like living ghosts in every street. Many empty houses in the city, were by special direction taken up for them; barns, stables, and out-houses filled with them, yet many lay in the open streets, and others under stalls, and there most miserably perished. The churches were the common receptacles of the meaner sort of them, who stood there in a most doleful

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ful posture, as objects of charity, in so great multitudes, as there was scarce any passage into them. But those of better quality, who could not frame themselves to be common beggars, crept into private places; and some of them, that had not private friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away, and so died without noise. And so bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and so insupportable the burthen of their present calamity to many of them, as they even refused to be comforted. I have known of some that lay almost naked, and having cloathes sent, laid them by, refusing to put them on. Others that would not stir to fetch themselves food, though they knew where it stood ready for them. But they continued to lie nastily in their filthy rags, and even their own dung, not taking care to have any thing clean, handsome or comfortable about them. And so even worn out with the misery of the journey and cruel usage, having their spirits spent, their bodies wasted, and their senses failing, lay here pitifully languishing; and soon after they had recovered this town, very many of them died, leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelties used towards them. The greatest part of the women and children thus barbarously expelled out of their habitations, perished in the city of Dublin: and so great numbers of them were brought to their graves, as all the church-yards within the whole town were of too narrow a compass to contain them. So as the lords took order to have two large pieces of new ground, one on each side the river, taken in upon the out-greens, and set a-part for burying-places.

These

These were the memorable spectacles of mercy, and of the great commiseration the rebels used to those English, to whom they gave their lives for a prey. But what their sufferings were, before they could get out of the hands of those bloody villains, what strange horrid inventions they used towards them, torturing and massacring those they there murdered, is reserved to be more fully related in its proper place. They are left upon record to posterity, under the oaths of many that escaped, and mentioned here to no other purpose, than to shew the strange horror and amazement the beholding of them bred in all the English and protestant inhabitants of the city. They seeing the rebels prevail so mightily, expected if they continued here to be undoubtedly exposed to the same cruelties. And they now understood by those who were come up from among them, that their design was, as soon as they had taken in Tredagh, to come and seize upon the city and castle of Dublin, and so make a general extirpation of all the English, root and branch, not to leave them name or posterity throughout the whole kingdom.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused countenance the city then had. What fears, terrour, and astonishment the miserable spectacles within, and the approaches of the rebels without, raised in the minds of an affrighted, distracted people. The English inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties exercised abroad, all the calamities and desolations fallen upon their country-men in other parts of the kingdom, as arrived at these gates, and now ready to enter: the avenues all open, neither hope nor means, neither

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The fears and distractions within the city of Dublin.

neither rampiers nor trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the careful travels and endeavours used by the lords justices and council to make provision for the common safety, no money could be raised, few men gotten together; the papists well furnished with arms closely concealed, and desperately animated by their priests to all manner of mischief: no fortifications about the suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the city, but an old ruinous wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of these distractions. And so careless were the citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that breach, as under pretence of want of money, they let it lie open till the lords sent unto them 40 l towards the reparation. All things tended to a sudden confusion; the face of the very city was now changed, and had such a ghastly aspect, as seemed to portend her near approaching ruin: the means of safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable: the applications, by reason of the strange Aversions of the popish party, of a very slow and weak operation. Every man began to consider himself, and his own private preservation. Those that lived in the suburbs removed, with their families, into the city. The privy counsellours and persons of quality, into the castle, which became a common repository of all things of value. The rolls were by special order removed thither: the records of several other offices were likewise brought in. But upon the rebels advance somewhat nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of those who had there taken sanctuary, began to suspect the strength of those old crazy walls, and therefore to make sure, resolved to quit the kingdom,

1841.

kingdom, imbarquing themselves and their goods with all possible speed. Some who were detained with contrary winds in the harbour, chose rather to endure all extremities on shipboard, then to hazard themselves a-shoar again. The Scottish fishermen, who lay with their boats in great numbers within the bay, fishing for herrings, having, with much forwardness, made an offer to the state, to bring five hundred of their men a-shoar to be put in arms and do present service (a proposition at that season most acceptable) were so strangely affrighted one evening with a false alarm, as that in the night, on a sudden, they put to sea, and quite disappeared on these coasts till the year following. The papists on the other side being most confident that the city would be taken and sack'd by the rebels, and fearing lest haply they might be mistaken in the tumult and fierce execution, removed themselves and their goods with the same speed into the country. And that which heightned the calamity of the poor English, was their flight in the winter, in such a dismal, stormy, tempestuous season, as in the memory of man had never been observed formerly to continue so long together. Yet the terroure of the rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the sea, most of those who could provide themselves of shipping, though at never so excessive rates, deserted the city: and such was the violence of the winds, such continuing impetuous storms, as several barques were cast away; some in three months after their going from hence could recover no port in England; and almost all that then put to sea, were in great danger of perishing. The iniquities of the

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English

1641:

Ezek 25.
15, 17.

English nation, which were very great in this kingdom, were now full: heaven and earth seemed to conspire together for the punishment of them. God certainly declared his high indignation against them for their great sins wherewith they had long continued to provoke him in this land, and suffered these barbarous rebels to be the instruments of mischief, and cruel executioners of his fierce wrath upon them. But "because they have taken vengeance with a despiteful heart, to destroy them for the old hatred;" he will certainly in his own time "execute great vengeance upon them with furious rebukes:" as he threatned the Philistians in the like case.

THE

THE PARTICULARS OF THE
FIRST PLOT
 OF THE
IRISH REBELLION:

TOGETHER
 WITH a BRIEF NARRATION,
 Of the most Notorious
Cruelties and Bloody Massacres,

WHICH
 Ensued in several Parts of the KINGDOM.

THUS we see what a great height this rebellion was grown up unto, within the space of less than one month, after the very first appearance of it: what horrid murders, cruel out-rages, and fearful desolations it had already wrought in one province, and what a powerful operation the cruelties there acted had upon other parts. But before I pass further, or come to declare the universal dilatation of it throughout the whole kingdom, and how it pleased God even miraculously to bless the painful endeavours of the state, in the preservation of the city and castle of Dublin, till the arrival of their long expected succours out of England: I hold it

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 Concerning the first plot of the rebellion.

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Who were
the plotters
of it not
yet clearly
discovered.

not amiss to look back, and (as far as the late discoveries and dark glimmerings we have into the first plot will admit) to trace it up to the first beginnings we find of it within this kingdom of Ireland.

Concerning the first original of this great conspiracy, as likewise the first plotters and contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess, that I am myself much unsatisfied in the first conceptions of this monstrous birth, and therefore shall not now be able clearly to resolve others therein: I cannot yet determine who were the very first contrivers, where the first debates were entertained, or who first sate in council about it. This, as all other works of this nature, had its foundation laid in the dark, and sealed up, no doubt, with many execrable oaths, the great engines of these times, to bind up the consciences as well as the tongues of men from discovery: besides, they knew well enough, that the plot being most abominable in itself, to be carried on with such detestable cruelty, should it take and be fully executed (which commonly gives to all other treasons applause and highest commendation) would certainly render the first authors, as well as the bloody actors, most odious and execrable to all posterity: therefore it is not much to be wondered, that the first beginnings, so mysterious and obscurely laid, remain as yet concealed with so great Obstinacy: but yet I am very confident, that upon view of several examinations, any reasonable man will conclude with me, that the very first principles of this inhuman conspiracy, were roughly drawn and hammered out of the **Romish Forge**, powerfully fomented by the treachery and virulent

lent animosities of some of the Irish natives, and so by degrees, by them moulded into that ugly shape wherein it first appeared: there certainly it received the first life and motion, whether at Rome, whether in Ireland, or in any other place, I cannot yet determine: but my meaning is, it was first hatched and set on foot by those most vigilant and industrious emissaries, who are sent continually abroad by the power of that see with full commission, *per fas & nefas*, to make way for the re-establishment of the Romish religion in all parts where it hath been suppressed. Great numbers of these wicked instruments (the laws against all the Romish clergy, being of late laid aside, and tacitly suspended execution) came over into Ireland: the main ground-work, and first pre-dispositions to a rebellion in general, were most undoubtedly with great dexterity and artifice laid by them; their venomous infusion taking such deep root in the minds of a blind, ignorant, superstitious people, as made them ready for a change; the great ones mischievously to plot and contrive, the inferior fort tumultuously to rise up and execute whatsoever they should command.

And if we will give credit to several examinations taken, many of them from those of their own, we must believe the plot for a rebellion in Ireland, of a very ancient date, as well as of a large extent: it had been long in contriving, and howsoever, peradventure first thought on in Ireland, yet received large contributions towards the consummation out of England and other foreign parts.

I have seen an examination of one, who affirms he heard it confidently averred by

H 3

Malone

The general plot for a rebellion in Ireland of an anti-ent date.

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Malone a priest, one that stiled himself Chaplain Major within the Pale, that he himself had been seven years employed in bringing on this plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into several parts about it.

Mr. Goldsmith, a minister in Conaught, told me, that he did, a full year before the rebellion broke out, receive a letter from a brother of his, residing at Brussels, wherein he gave him notice thereof, though so obscurely, as he well understood it not till afterwards.

Patrick
O Bryan's
examina-
tion.

Patrick O Bryan, of the parish of Galloom, in the county of Fermanagh, affirmeth upon oath, that all the nobles in the kingdom that were papists, had a hand in this plot, as well as the lord Mac-Gwire, Hugh Oge, and Mac-Mahown; that they expected aid out of Spain by Owen Roe O Neal; and that colonel Plunket, one of those that was to be an actor in the surprize of the castle of Dublin, told him, that he knew of this plot eight years since, and that within these three years he hath been more fully acquainted with it.

Francis Sa-
cheveril,
esq; his ex-
amination.

Francis Sacheveril, esq; hath deposed, that at several times shortly after the beginning of this rebellion, he hath heard four several popish priests, viz. Hugh Rely of the county of Down, Edmund O Tunnah of the county of Armagh, Morice Mac-Credan of the county of Tyrone, and James Hallegan of the county of Armagh, say, That the priests, jesuits and friars of England, Ireland, Spain, and other countries beyond the seas, were the plotters, projectors and contrivers of this rebellion and insurrection, and that they have been these six years in agitation and preparation of the same; and that the said priests did then express a kind of joy that the same was brought

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brought to so good effect: he also further deposeth, that at several times Ever Boy Mac-Gennis in the county of Down, gent. and Hugh O Hagan in the county of Armagh, gent. did brag and say, that they doubted not but that they should shortly conquer the English in the kingdom, and enjoy the same quietly to themselves, and that they would not rest so content, but they would raise strong armies to invade and conquer England. Roger Moore, one of the prime conspirators, told Mr. Colely, then prisoner with him, that the plot had been in framing several years, and should have been executed several times, but they were still hindred. By letters sent from Rome to sir Phelim O Neal, and the lord Mac-Gwire, which were intercepted and brought to the lord Parsons, though the fryar that writ them doth not express any certain knowledge of this very plot; yet thus much appears by them, that they had long desired to hear of the rising of the Irish; that the news of sir Phelim O Neal's taking arms was very acceptable to the pope and and his two cardinal nephews, assuring him of all assistance from thence; and further, desiring him to send an agent to Rome, and to employ several persons of his own nation, whom he there named, then residing at Madrid, Paris, and with the emperor, they being fit instruments, and such as he might make use of for the procuring succours from those princes whom he assured him would join to give him all assistance in this action.

Besides these, we have very many other presumptions that the Irish, since they found their own strength, and that they were able to draw together so great numbers of

The Irish have had it long in design to shake off the English government.

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men, as their several septs so strangely multiplied during the late peace, can now afford, have long had it in design to shake off the English government, to settle the whole power of the state in the hands of the natives, and to re-possess them of all the lands now enjoyed by the British throughout the kingdom: and that in this plot they did but go about to actuate those confused general notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they supposed there could never be offered unto them a fairer opportunity than this most unhappy conjuncture of the affairs of Great-Britain, when Scotland lately in arms, had by their own power and wise management, drawn his majesty to condescend to their entire satisfaction, as well in their church-discipline, as the liberties of that kingdom. And in England, the Distractions being grown to some height, through the great misunderstanding betwixt the king and his parliament, Ireland was at this time left naked and unregarded, the government in the hands of justices, the old army dispersed in places of so great distance, as it could be of little advantage, the common soldiers most of them Irish, and all the old commanders and captains, except some few, worn out and gone: this, as the first plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends; and masking their perfidious designs under the public pretences of religion, and the defence of his majesty's prerogative, they let loose the reins of their own vindictive humour and irreconcilable hatred to their British neighbours.

I will not presume to say, they knew what would fall out in England, or what miserable

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rable embroilments that kingdom was ready to break out into; for undoubtedly the first plot was laid, and most exactly formed, many months before the war broke out between the king and his people. But thus much I shall be bold to affirm, that upon the very first breaking out of this rebellion, they did strangely conjecture, and beyond all appearance of reason, even somewhat positively divine, of the dismal breach and fearful distempers which afterwards followed to the disabling of the kingdom of England from applying remedies towards the reducement of Ireland. For the attestation of this truth, I could produce the general concurrence of several circumstances, many private discourses and advertisements, as also a particular letter which I had long by me, written as it seems, from a very intelligent papist, a great zealot in the cause; unto a nephew of sir Toby Matthews, then in Dublin, who tho' lately converted, retained yet a great friendship among them. He tells him in the beginning of his letter; "That he was desired from some well wishing friends, to advise him, as he tendred his safety and security, upon the sight of those, instantly to forsake and abandon that troublesome and most unfortunate kingdom; for God and man had speedily resolved to afflict and punish the over-grown impieties of these prophane times, all hearts and hands happily conspiring to it; and that he should be as speedy in his passage as was possible, and rather, as the case stood, hazard all dangers by sea, than the least at land, to be sure not to stop in England, especially at London, that sink of sin (as he calls it) and center of disorders, for
by

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by that time he arrived there, he should be sure to find nothing but troubles, factions and desparate distempers; that he should dispatch therefore for Paris, or rather Brussels, where there should be order taken for the removal of all mistakes betwixt him and his uncle." This letter was written about the beginning of November 1641, which was some few days after the breaking out of this rebellion, and full six months before the taking up of arms in England.

The plot for a rebellion in Ireland first discovered to the lord Mac-guire and others about the time of Mr. John Bellew's return out of England, with commission to continue the parliament in Ireland, which was in Jan. 1640.

Now for the very time when this great plot received its first form, though I conceive it of somewhat a more antient date, yet by all the examinations I have hitherto seen, I can carry it up no higher than the month of January, 1640, and that it was about that time communicated to some of the chief gentlemen of Ulster, the lord Mac-Guire doth sufficiently testify as well in the relation written with his own hand in the tower, and delivered by him to sir John Coniers, then lieutenant, to be presented to the lords in parliament, as also in his examination taken before the lord Lambert and sir Robert Meredith, knight, in Ireland, March 26th, 1642. In both these he acknowledgeth, that he being in Dublin in Candlemas term, about the time when Mr. John Bellew came out of England with the commission for the continuance of the parliament in Ireland; Roger Moore acquainted him, that if the Irish would rise, they might make their own conditions for the regaining of their lands, and freedom of their religion; and further saith, that he had spoken with sundry of Leinster to that purpose, who would be ready to join with them, as likewise a good part of Conaught, and that he

he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the gentlemen of Ulster.

Now for the manner of putting this plot in execution, the said lord Mac-guire, doth further testify in his relation aforesaid, that the said Roger Moore having the next day acquainted Philip O'Rely, Turlagh O'Neal, brother to sir Phelim O'Neal, Master Cossée, and Mac-Mahon herewith, did propose, that first, every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, at least those that did live in one country with them; and that when they had so done, they should send for the Irish in the Low-countries and in Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution, so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after, with supply of arms and munition; that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day, and seize upon all the arms he could get in his own county, and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themselves would be supplied by the Irish from beyond the seas. Then he told them further, that there was no doubt to be made of the Irish joining with them, and that all the doubt was in the gentlemen of the pale; but he said, for his own part, he was really assured, that when they had risen out, the pale gentlemen would not stay long after, at least they would not oppose any thing; and that in case they did, that they had men enough in the kingdom without them: moreover, that he had spoken to a great man (who then should be nameless) who

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who would not fail at the day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the act, but that till then he was sworn not to reveal him, but yet that upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the lord of Mayo, who was very powerful in the command of men in those parts of Conaught where he lived: he further saith, that in Lent following, Mr. Moore, according to his promise, came into Ulster, but that nothing was done there, but all matters put off till May following, when they met at Dublin, it being both parliament and term time, and that from thence they dispatched one Tooly Conley parish priest to Mr. Moore, to Colonel O Neal, in the Low-countries, who within few months after arrived with this answer from the said Colonel, desiring them not to delay any time in rising out, but to let him know of the day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen days of that day, with good aid; also desiring them by any means to seize on the castle of Dublin if they could. And further he saith, that during the time of these their private meetings, there landed at Dublin, Colonel Birne, Colonel Plunket, captain Brian O Neal and others, who came with directions to carry men away, and that these were acquainted with the plot, and did offer their service to bring it on, that they would raise their men under colour to carry them into Spain, and then seize on the castle of Dublin, and with the arms found there, arm their soldiers, and have them ready for any action that should be commanded them. He further also saith, that they had divers private consultations about the carrying

ing on of this conspiracy, not only at Dublin, but in several other places in the province of Ulster, and that they had set down several days for the putting of it in execution, but meeting with some obstacles did not come to conclude of the certain time till about the beginning of September; and that then they peremptorily resolved on the 23^d of October, for the day to execute this long designed plot in; and that they had respect unto the day of the week, which did fall on Saturday, being the market-day, on which there would be the less notice taken of people up and down the streets; that they then settled what numbers of men should be brought up out of the several provinces for the surprize of the castle, and what commanders should lead them on; that seeing the castle had two gates, that the Leinster men should undertake to seize upon the little gate, which lay nearest to the place where the arms and munition was placed; and that the great gate should be undertaken by those of Ulster, and that sir Phelim O Neal should be there in person; but that he excus'd himself, because he resolved at the same time to seize upon London-derry, and that thereupon by the importunity of the undertakers, it was impos'd upon him the said lord Mac-Guire, to be there in person at the taking of the castle of Dublin. That it was further resolved, what number of forces should be brought up out of the other provinces, to make good those places if possessed by them, and that sir James Dillon did undertake to be there with a thousand men within four days after the taking of the castle; as also that it was resolved that every one privy to that matter in every

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every part of the kingdom, should rise out that day and seize on all the forts and arms in the several counties; as likewise on all the gentry, and make them prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse fortune, and not to kill any, but where of necessity they should be forced thereunto by opposition. These particulars, together with many other circumstances very considerable, are set down in the relation given in by the lord Mac-Guire, while he remained prisoner in the tower of London; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, because I find that relation published by authority, and so presented to the common view. We shall find also, that Mac-Mahon in his examination taken when he was first apprehended by the lords justices and council here, doth testify that all the chief of the nobility and gentry in this kingdom were acquainted with the first plot, and particularly, that all the popish party in the committee sent into England, as likewise in both houses of parliament knew of it: in the examination of William Fitz-Gerald, it is there affirmed, that sir Phe-lim O Neal sending for him five days after his rising in arms, told him, what he did was by directions and consent of the prime nobility and gentry of the whole kingdom; and that what he had done in the northern parts, the same was executed at Dublin, and in all other forts and towns throughout Ireland: as being a course resolved upon among the lords and gentry, for the preservation of his majesty's prerogative, their own religion and liberties, against the puritan faction in England, Scotland, and Ireland. And that the lord of Gormanston knew of this plot while he was in England,

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England, is testified by lieutenant colonel Read in his examination, as also by the lord Mac-Guire in his relation; who saith that colonel Plunket told him, that he being at London, had acquainted some of the Irish committee, and particularly the lord of Gormanstone, with this plot, and that they approved it well: colonel Plunket in his letter to father Patrick Barnwal, lord Abbot of Mellifont (as he styles him) doth seem much to glory in the means he had used to incite the lords and gentry of the pale to appear in that blessed cause (as he terms it) and assures him that the lord of Gormanstone, whom he there calls lord-general, will go bravely on.

And now it will be no difficult matter to resolve what were the secondary steps and motions of this great plot, as well as by what persons it was wrought out in Ireland, and carried on to the very point of execution. And first it is to be observed, that howsoever sir Phelim O Neal, the lord Mac-Guire, Philip O Rely, colonel Mac-Brian, Hugh MacMahon and their adherents, chief of the Irish septs in Ulster, and other counties near adjacent, did first appear upon the stage, and by the bloody execution, notoriously declare themselves chief actors in this horrid tragedy: yet this rebellion was either altogether originally plotted by them, or most of them had but subordinate notions of it, and they as other of the chief nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom, had several parts assigned them to act at several times, in several places, and did but move according to the first resolutions taken, and such directions as they had received from the first conspirators: I take it to be most probable, after the general plot
came

The first contrivers of the Rebellion did not first openly appear in it.

1641.

That the lord Gormanstone and some others of the English pale, were engaged in the first plot, is very probable.

came to be reduced into form, that as the lord of Gormanstone was one of the first and chief movers in it, so he and the chief of the pale joined together to draw in (as they had done in all former rebellions) the principal septs of the old Irish, to engage themselves, and to appear first in the business: and after they had joined together, and so finely order'd the matter, as they had made it a general rising, as sir Phelim O Neal terms it, of all the catholics throughout the kingdom with the general consent of the prime nobility and gentry thereof; then as it were with one general voice, they founded forth from all the four provinces of Ireland the same language, they used the same remonstrances, and made the very same pretences for their justification, they began the very self-same course, first in stripping, then banishing and murdering the British and Protestants, only in the north, they drove on somewhat more furiously, and spilt much more innocent blood, than in any of the other three provinces: they agreed likewise in recalling their commanders, all the four provinces had their particular emissaries abroad: those of Leinster brought back colonel Preston, a branch out of the house of Gormanstone, who had long lived with good reputation in Flanders, and him they made general of their forces there; but of Ulster they sent into Flanders likewise for Owen Roe O Neal, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that province: the Munster men brought over Garret Barry, whom they made general of their forces: and those in Connaught drew back one of the Burks, to whom they gave the chief command of such men as they were able to draw together for the advancement of

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of the common design: all these held a due correspondency, and in all their actions had a just concurrency towards the main end.

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The great instrument chiefly employed in this work of drawing the meer Irish into a firm combination with the old English (as appears by the lord Mac-Gwire's relation before-mentioned) was Roger Moore, *etc.*; a person of broken fortune, by descent merely Irish, issued out of the chief family of the O Moores in the county of Leax, but by intermarriages allied to some of the principal gentlemen of the Pale: he treated with them about the association; he first broke the design to the northern Irish; he was the man that made several journeys in Lenchster, into Ulster and Conaught: sundry messages were interchangeably sent and returned the summer before the breaking out of the rebellion by his means and intercourse between them: and all things were so ordered for their agreement, as they were to go hand in hand together: some of the principal gentlemen of the Pale, as colonel Plunket, captain Fox, and others, were designed to join with the lord Mac-Gwire, Mac-Mahon, Brian O Neal, Con O Neal, Hugh Birne, for the surprize of his majesty's castle of Dublin. Cartan, Major Domi to Owen O Neal in Flanders, in his examination taken February 1641. tells, among many other remarkable passages, of several preparatives to this rebellion; as that Con O Neal, brother to Daniel O Neal, was sent by Owen O Neal into England; and that while he resided there he received letters from the president Rosse (which was sir Philem O Neal) and that he assured him he went on very well in his business; for Brabant and Valence were

Roger Moore the chief person employed to make a conjunction between the meer Irish and the English for raising a Rebellion.

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joined together, which, as he affirms, signified in those characters Ulster and Leinster, and that he expected the coming of Lewis Lenoy, viz. Daniel O'Neal. Besides, as James Talbot, esq; testifies in his letter of the 9th of November 1641. written to the lords justices out of the county of Cavan, that he understood from Philip Mac-Mulmore O'Rely, that there were certain covenants passed between the lords of the Pale and the northern Irish, for the advancing of the rebellion; and that the remonstrance from the principal Irish in the county of Cavan, unto the lords justices and council sent by dean Jones, and Mr. Waldron, there then prisoner, was framed in the Pale and brought unto the said Irish by colonel Plunket, one of their own: and this was in the very beginning of the rebellion, long before any jealousies were entertained by the state of the adherence or conjunction of the old English with the Irish. What those covenants or contracts were, I cannot say, but it is most certain some there were, and some covenants also entered into between the northern Irish, and the lords and gentlemen of the chief of both the other provinces, as well as Leinster, and these were signed with their blood, as doctor Maxwell testifies in his examination, he heard sir Phelim O'Neal say on the 19th of December 1641. in his own house, and in the hearing of Mr. Joseph Travers and others: if the lords and gentlemen (meaning the papists of other provinces) then not in arms, would not rise, but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his warrant, signed with their own hands and written in their own blood, which should bring them to the gallows. And certainly,

tainly, had there not been some very strange and extraordinary engagements, and more than I can well imagine, it had not been possible that so many persons of quality, having great possessions and many children, should have declared themselves, after they saw the main part of the plot for the surprise of the castle of Dublin to fail, and the power of the northern rebels begin to decline, that the parliament of England had with great alacrity and readiness undertaken the war, and not only engaged themselves to his majesty to send over powerful supplies both out of England and Scotland, but by their publick order of both houses, sent over to the lords justices, and printed at Dublin in the month of November, fully declared their resolutions for the vigorous prosecution of the war of Ireland: Nay, the cities of Galway and Limerick, kept their designs very covertly, not doing any open acts of hostility, till after the arrival of some forces at Dublin out of England, and that the siege of Drogheda or Tredagh was raised, and those bold perfidious traitors beaten back into the north, the lords of the Pale banished by force of his majesty's arms out of their own habitations, which were all spoiled and laid waste.

Now! that then they should declare themselves, is more than a miracle to me, and such a mystery, as I should not know what to think of, but that I find in the lord MacGwire's relation before-mentioned, that they were acquainted with the first beginnings of this great plot, and had a particular interest from time to time in the carriage of it on, so as I think I shall not wrong them positively to determine, that they were too

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deeply engaged slightly to retire : and that howsoever upon the failing of it in the main piece, they at first stood at a gaze, and were put to take up second counsels ; yet such was the strength of the conspiracy, and their great confidence in the power of their arms, as made them appear in due time to entertain their several assignments, and act their parts with great diligence and industry. The wife of Philip O'Rely, in the county of Cavan, told James Talbot (as he openly related it to the lords justices at the council-board) that she wondered very much the lords and gentlemen of the Pale did not rise and join with them in the very beginning of this rebellion, adding these words, or to this effect ; " That if they would let us alone, and not set us on, we were so well at ease, as we would never have begun this troublesome work." It cannot certainly be imagined, that those of the English pale (unless they had been the first projectors, or deep adventurers) would have yielded that the meer Irish should have seized upon the city and castle of Dublin, places of refuge for them in all former troubles, and which would now have given them protection and safety against the incursions of the Irish.

The Romish clergy
 and the
 popish
 lawyers,
 great instruments
 in the first
 plotting
 and carrying on the
 rebellion.

But I hold it not necessary to produce further evidence in this particular ; I purpose now to declare how those great instruments of mischief, that were the supreme conductors of this wicked design, moved forwards so successfully in the beginning, toward the accomplishment of their long intended extirpation of all the British and Protestants out of the kingdom. I find two sorts of persons who did most eminently appear in laying those main fundamentals whereupon their

their bloody superstructures were afterwards easily reared up: and these were such of the popish lawyers as were natives of the kingdom, and those of the Romish clergy of several degrees and orders. For the first, they had in regard of their knowledge of the laws of the land, very great reputation and trust; they now began to stand up like great patriots for the vindication of the liberties of the subject, and redress of their pretended grievances, and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great party in the house of commons, here then sitting, some of them did there magisterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of law, the pernicious speculations of their own brain, which though plainly discerned to be full of virulency, and tending to sedition; yet so strangely were many of the protestants and well meaning men in the house blinded with an apprehension of ease and redress, and so stupified with their bold accusations of the government, as most thought not fit, others durst not stand up to contradict their fond assertions; so as what they spake was received with great acclamation, and much applause by most of the protestant members of the house; many of which, under specious pretences of publick zeal to this country, they had inveigled into their party: and then it was, that having impeached sir Richard Bolton, lord chancellor of Ireland, of high-treason, together with other prime officers and ministers of state that were of English birth, some of those great masters took upon them with much confidence to declare the law, to make new expositions of their own upon the text, to frame their queries, challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilfully, over-grown misgovernment,

The Irish lawyers draw a great party in the house of commons to adhere to them.

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misgovernment, than to be made against an authority, that had for many years struggled against the beloved irregularities of a stubborn people, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued distempers of the kingdom: they disdain'd the moderate qualifications of the judges, who gave them modest answers, such as the law and duty to their sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn, they resolved upon an alteration in the government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the natives, which they knew they could not compass in a parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparatives there, and delivered such desperate maxims, which being diffused abroad would fit and dispose the people to a change: as they declared it to be law, that being killed in rebellion, though found by matter of record, would give the king no forfeiture of estates: that though many thousands stood up in arms in a kingdom, working all manner of destruction, yet if they professed not to rise against the king, that it was no rebellion: that if a man were out-lawed for treason, and his land thereby vested in the crown, or given away by the king, his heir might come afterwards to be admitted to reverse the out-lawry, and recover his ancestor's estate. And many other positions of a perilous consequence, tending to sedition and disturbance, did they continue to publish during that session, and by the power and strength of their party, so far did they prevail at last, as they presumed to attempt a suspension of Poyning's act, and indeed intended the utter abrogation of that statute, which remains as

one of the greatest ties and best monuments the English have of their intire dominion over the Irish nation, and the annexion of that kingdom to the imperial crown of England. They further assumed power of judicature to the parliament in criminal and capital offences: a right which no former age hath left any precedent for, neither would this admit the example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the session of parliament begun in May, till about two months before the first breaking out of this rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were adjourned. And this they have since aggravated as a high crime against the lords justices, and as one of the chief moving causes to the taking up of arms generally throughout the kingdom.

But to let those things pass, how finely soever these proceedings were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of zeal and publick affection, passed then currant without any manner of suspicion; yet now the eyes of all men are opened, and they are fully resolved that all these passages, together with the other high contestations in parliament, not to have the newly raised Irish army disbanded, the importunate sollicitation of their agents in England, to have the old army in Ireland cashiered, and the kingdom left to be defended by trained bands of their own nation; as likewise the commissions procured by several of the most eminent commanders now in rebellion, for the raising men to carry into Spain, were all parts of this plot, prologues to this ensuing tragedy, preparatives, such as had been long laid, to bring on the sudden

3647.

The means
used by the
priests and
jesuits to
stir up the
people to
rebel.

sudden execution of this most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the kingdom.

Now for the jesuits, priests, friers, and all the rest of the vicious fraternity belonging to their holy orders: who, as I said, had a main part to act, and have not failed with great assiduity and diligence to discharge the same. They lost no time, but most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the country to lay such other dangerous impressions in the minds, as well of the meaner sort as of the chief gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the first occasion. And when this plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the day once prefixed for execution, they did in their publick devotions, long before, recommend by their prayers, the good success of a great design, much tending to the prosperity of the kingdom, and the advancement of the catholick cause. And for the facilitating of the work, and stirring up of the people with greater animosity and cruelty to put it on at the time prefixed, they loudly in all places declaimed against the protestants, telling the people that they were hereticks, and not to be suffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman, than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they represented with much acrimony, the severe courses taken by the parliament in England, for the suppressing of the Romish religion in all parts of the kingdom, and utter extirpation of all professors of it. They told the people, that in England they had
caused

caused the queen's priest to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her majesty in her own person under a most severe discipline: that the same cruel laws against popery were here ordered to be put suddenly in execution; and a design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principal noblemen and gentlemen in Ireland upon the 23d of November next ensuing, and so to make a general massacre of all that would not desert their religion, and presently become protestants.

And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the English nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard masters; under whose government, how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous soever it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and enslavement. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the land they possessed (though a great part bought at high rates of the natives) as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair English cattle; at their goodly houses, though built by their own industry at their own charges; and at the large improvements they made of their estates, by their own travels and careful endeavours. They spake with much scorn and contempt of such as brought little with them into Ireland, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great fortunes: they were much troubled, especially in the Irish countries, to see the English live handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as
it

1641.
The Irish
revive their
ancient
animosities
against the
English.

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it were, in mire and filthiness; the ordinary sort of people commonly bringing their cattle into their own stinking creates, and there naturally delighting to lie among them. These malignant considerations made them with an envious eye impatiently to look upon all the British lately come over into the kingdom. Nothing less than a general extirpation will now serve their turn; they must have restitution of all the lands to the proper natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietors, and only true owners most unjustly despoiled by the English, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the land they possess by gift from the crown, upon the attainder of any of their ancestors.

The ends
proposed
by the first
plotters of
the rebellion.

And so impetuous were the desires of the natives to draw the whole government of the kingdom into their own hands, to enjoy the publick profession of their religion, as well as to disburden the country of all the British inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole body of the state to be universally disliked; represented the several members as persons altogether corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill humours and distempers in the kingdom to be grown to that height as required cauteries, deep incisions; and indeed nothing able to work so great a cure, but an universal rebellion. This was certainly the disease, as appears by all the symptoms, and the joint concurrence in opinion of all the great physicians that held themselves wise enough to propose remedies, and prescribe fit applications to so desperate a malady. In those instructions privately sent over into England by the lord
Dillon

1641.

Dillon of Costeloz, presently after the breaking out of the rebellion, the alteration of the supream power in the government and settling of it in the hands of the earl of Ormonde, giving leave to the grand council of the kingdom to remove such officers of state, as they thought fit, and to recommend natives to their places, were thus positively laid down to be a more likely means to appease these tumults than a considerable army. In the remonstrance of the county of Longford, presented about the same time to the lords justices, by the same lord Dillon, as also in the frame of the common-wealth, found at sir John Dungan's house, not far from Dublin, and sent up thither out of Conaught to be communicated to those of Leinster; pieces which publicly appeared soon after the breaking out of the rebellion; the points insisted upon in them and several others, were restauration of the public profession of the Romish religion; restitution of all the plantation lands unto the natives, and settlement of the present government in their hands. All the remonstrances from several parts, and that came out of the several provinces of the kingdom, do concur in these propositions, with very little or no difference. And therefore that the desires with the first intentions of those who are now out in rebellion, may more clearly appear; I have thought fit here to insert them as I found them, methodically digested into certain propositions, termed,

The true
causes of
the rebellion.

The

1647

The means to reduce this kingdom unto peace and quietness,

1. **T**HAT a general and free pardon, without any exception, be granted to all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; and that in pursuance thereof, and for strengthening the same, an act of abolition may pass in the parliament here.

2. That all marks of national distinctions between English and Irish may be abolished and taken away by act of parliament.

3. That by several acts of parliament to be respectively passed here and in England, it be declared that the parliament of Ireland hath no subordination with the parliament of England, but that the same hath in itself suprem jurisdiction in this kingdom, as absolute as the parliament of England there hath.

4. That the act of 12th Henry the seventh, commonly called Poyning's act, and all other acts expounding or explaining the same, may be repealed.

5. That as in England there pass an act for a triennial parliament, there may pass in Ireland another for a sexennial parliament.

6. That it may be enacted by parliament, that the act of the 2d of queen Elizabeth in Ireland; and all other acts made against catholicks, or the catholic religion, since the twentieth year of king Henry the eighth, may be repealed.

7. That the bishopricks, deanries, and all other spiritual promotions of this kingdom, and all frieries and nunneries, may be restored to the catholick owners, and likewise all impropriations

appropriations of tythes, and that the scits, ambits and precincts of the religious houses of the monks, may be restored to them; but as to the rest of their temporal possessions, it is not designed to be taken from the present proprietors, but to be left to them until God shall otherwise incline their own hearts.

8. That such as are now entitled catholick archbishops, bishops, abbots, or other dignitaries in this kingdom by donation of the pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their spiritual promotions; with protestation nevertheless, and other fit clauses to be laid down for preservation of his majesty's rights of patronages, first-fruits, and twentieth-parts in manner and quantity, as now his highness receives benefit thereby.

9. That all inquisitions taken since the year 1634, to entitle his majesty to Conaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogarty, Kilnemanagh, Duheara, Wicklow and Idvagh, may be vacuated, and their estates secured, according to his majesty's late graces.

10. That an act of parliament may pass here for the securing the subjects title to their several estates against the crown, upon any title accrewed unto it before 60 years, or under colour or pretext of the present commotions.

11. That all plantations made since the year 1610 may be avoided by parliament, if the parliament should hold it just, and their possessions restored to them or their heirs, from whom the same were taken, they nevertheless answering to the crown the rents and services proportionable, reserved upon the undertakers.

12. That the transportation of all native commodities to all places of the world, in peace

1641.

peace with his majesty, may be free and lawful, his customs first paid, and that the statutes of 10, 11, and 13, of queen Elizabeth, for restraining the exportation of native commodities be repealed.

13. That all preferments ecclesiastical, civil and martial in this kingdom, that lie in his majesty's gift, may be conferred on natives of this kingdom only, such as his majesty shall think meet, without any distinction for religion, provided always that upon the princes of his blood in England, he may bestow what places he shall think meet.

14. That a marshal and admiral of this kingdom may be elected in it, to have perpetual succession therein with the same preheminance, authority and jurisdiction as they respectively have in England, and that the said places be ever conferred upon noblemen, natives of this kingdom.

15. That there may be trained bands in all cities, towns corporate, and counties of this kingdom, armed and provided at the charge of the several counties, cities and towns, and commanded by the natives of the same, who shall be named by the counties, cities and towns respectively.

16. That his majesty may release all tenures in capite, and by knight-service: in consideration whereof, he shall receive a settled revenue of 12000*l.* per annum, being double the sum which he casually receives by them; reliefs, feifins, licenses for alienations, escuage and aids nevertheless to remain.

17. That all monopolies may be for ever taken away by act of parliament.

18. That such new corporations, as have not the face of corporate towns, and were erected

erected to give voices in the parliament, may be dissolved, and their votes taken away, and hereafter no such to be admitted to voices in parliament.

19. That there may be agents chosen in parliament, or otherwise, as thought meet, to attend continually his majesty, to represent the grievances of this nation, that they may be removeable by such as did elect them; and in case of death or removance, others may be for ever successively substituted in that place, and that such agents may enjoy the freedom of their conscience in court, and every where else.

These are the means proposed by these catholick remonstrants, for reducing of the kingdom to peace; these the great obstructions they would have removed, and the constant counsel they would have followed, in settling the tranquility and present government of this land; so as we need seek no further evidence, nor make any more curious enquiries into the secret causes of their first rising: we have here enough out of their own mouths, to resolve the most scrupulous unbeliever of their first motives to this rebellion. And now for the matter of religion, howsoever I am very confident they ever really intended the re-establishment of that of the church of Rome, with all the rites and ceremonies thereof, together with the utter extirpation of all the reformed profession: yet considering the large indulgence, and free liberty they universally enjoyed at that time, in the full exercise of that their religion throughout all the parts of the kingdom; it may be most justly suspected (how zealously soever

The re-establishment of the Romish religion, only a pretence for the rebellion.

1647.

soever they now obtrude it) that this was only the bare outward coverture made use of by the principal undertakers, to draw on a poor ignorant superstitious people to sacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it by any reasonable man be ever presumed, that such persons as made no conscience of committing treason, so many cruel murders, and all other kind of abominable villanies, not to be paralleled in any other country, could be drawn merely out of conscience towards God, to act these for the regaining of the free and publick profession of their religion.

All the
grievances
of the king-
dom re-
dressed be-
fore the
rebellion
broke out.

This certainly was no more the true and main cause of their taking up arms, than the redress of their pretended grievances, whereunto his majesty had condescended, and out of his inclinations for their present relief, had given much more satisfaction to their agents lately in England, than ever they could expect to receive in any other time, or hope to enjoy. Yet we see how little effect those great graces brought over, not above two months before this rebellion broke out, took among them: for presently after the return of their agents with them, this most detestable conspiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work, and to be put in execution. And if we shall consider their main design and chief ends therein, as they appear in their first principles, or will give credit to the several speeches and passages that we meet with among the rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out; as also to several other testimonies that have since privately fallen from some particular persons among them, we must believe that their design clearly was to destroy and root out all the British and protestants planted

planted within this kingdom, to cut off the sovereignty of the crown of England; and so to deliver themselves from their long continued subjection to the English nation.

1641.

But to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime movers and chief incendiaries in this horrid rebellion, they had a most serious consultation what course to take with most safety to themselves, for the disburthening of the kingdom of those multitudes of English, which were in very great numbers dispersedly planted among them. Some were of opinion, that they should spare their lives, and not render themselves guilty of the spilling of so much innocent blood, but that they should seize on their goods, expel them their habitations, and after banishing them out of the kingdom, proceed as the Spaniards did with many hundred thousands of the Moors, whom, as it were in a moment, they cleared out of their dominions. Others there were who much opposed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonstrating the high inconveniencies which would inevitably redound to themselves thereby. First, that the British were in so great numbers, as they could not either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other means possible, ever hope to secure them from mischief: then, that if they only expelled them out of the kingdom, they would remain still as so many fit instruments to be entertained in England, and from thence return back full of revengeful thoughts to recover their losses; that by their long experience and knowledge in the country, they would be better guides, therefore more deeply engaged to prosecute the war; and having their bodies inured to this climate, would

A consultation held, whether it will be best to murder, or only to banish all the British out of Ireland.

1641. 1642. 1643. 1644. 1645. 1646. 1647. 1648. 1649. 1650. 1651. 1652. 1653. 1654. 1655. 1656. 1657. 1658. 1659. 1660. 1661. 1662. 1663. 1664. 1665. 1666. 1667. 1668. 1669. 1670. 1671. 1672. 1673. 1674. 1675. 1676. 1677. 1678. 1679. 1680. 1681. 1682. 1683. 1684. 1685. 1686. 1687. 1688. 1689. 1690. 1691. 1692. 1693. 1694. 1695. 1696. 1697. 1698. 1699. 1700.

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prove

1641.

The Irish
resolve to
root the
English out
of Ireland.

Master
Creighton
in his exa-
mination.

prove much more able soldiers than any new men that could be raised, or any otherways brought over. How they determined this particular I shall not undertake to declare; my intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the result of this great council than appears in the bloody effects and horrid executions acted in the first beginnings of their rebellion. It is most probable they came to no positive conclusion, but left the chief actors, in this particular, at large, to do as should seem good to themselves. We find their first proceedings and outrages committed upon the English very various and much differing in several places, some only stripping and expelling of them; others murdering man, woman and child without mercy. But this is certain, and of most unquestionable truth, that by one means or other, they resolved universally to root all the British and protestants out of Ireland. And that these were the first thoughts and bitter fruits of the long premeditated malicious intentions, sufficiently appears by their actions, as well as by their virulent expressions uttered upon their first rising, when they thought the kingdom was their own. They then said openly, that they meant to destroy the English, and that they had made a covenant no English man should set footing among them. Some of the Irish would not endure the very sound of that language, but would have penalties inflicted upon them that spake English, and all the English names of places changed into the old Irish denominations: others professed that they would not leave an English man or woman alive in the kingdom, but that all should be gone; no, not so much as an English beast,

beast, or any of the breed of them. * James Hallegan the priest did read an excommunication in the church, which as he alledged, came from their great Irish metropolitan; and terrifying his parishioners therewith, he told them, that from that day forth, whosoever did harbour or † relieve any Scot, English, or Welsh man, or give them alms at their doors, should be excommunicated, whereby, as Mr. Sacheveril testifies in his examination, many were starved and died for want in those parts. We have it from Mr. Creighton, a reverend minister, one long detained prisoner within the county of Cavan, that the fryars exhorted the people with tears to spare none of the English; that the Irish were resolved to destroy them out of the kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the seed of the

* The Irish in many places killed English cows and sheep merely because they were English; in some places they cut off their legs, or took a piece out of their buttocks, and so let them remain still alive. The lord Montgarret, Mr. Edward Butlar, the baron of Logmouth, went with their forces into Munster about the beginning of the rising of the Irish there, and while they remained about Callen and Mallow, they consumed no less than fifty thousand, others say an hundred thousand English sheep, besides a great abundance of English cattle; and such as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great multitudes stinking, to the great annoyance of the country. This testified by Henry Champart, in his examination taken before sir Robert Meredith, Knight, &c.

† James Shaw, a minister deposes, that after the cessation, divers of the rebels confessed the priests had given them the sacrament, upon condition they should not spare man, woman nor child that were protestants; and that he heard divers of them say in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to wash their hands in the blood of the protestants whom they had slain. Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.

Thomas

1641

the English out of Ireland; and when they had rid them there, they would go over into England, and not leave the memorial of the English name under heaven.

And so fond and vain were their imaginations, and to such a height of madness were they grown, as they could not terminate their thoughts in the reduction of Ireland under the power of their own nation. But as soon as they had begun their rebellion there, they spake confidently in all places of transporting their arms into England, that they would send 30000 men over into that kingdom, and that they would draw in foreign auxiliaries thither to join with them; and so by a high hand establish the free exercise of the Romish religion within that kingdom. A design certainly which the priests and jesuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their correspondencies abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as soon as they had settled their affairs in Ireland. And if it had not pleased God in an extraordinary way to bring the first plot to light, and so to bless the weak endeavours of the state here, as to enable them by the assistance of those small forces they

Thomas Johnson, Vicar of Tullah, of the county of Mayo, deposed, that he heard Stephen Linoh, prior of Strade, being asked if it were not lawful to kill this deponent because he would not go to mass; answered, that it was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill a sheep or a dog: and divers of the rebellious soldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, than they would do a pig.

John Addis, of the county of Westmeath, deposes, that Robert Magohagan, priest, said to this deponent, that it was no more pity nor conscience to take Englishmens lives or goods from them, than to take a bone out of a dog's mouth. Jurat. July 21, 1642.

they confusedly gathered together, to hold out till the arrival of the succours sent out of England; I leave it to every one to consider with how much advantage they might have gone on at that time towards the accomplishment of so desperate a project. And for myself, I must profess that I am clearly resolved, that had they at first over-mastered the unexpected difficulties and fatal impediments they met withal at home, and possessed themselves of the arms and munition within the castle of Dublin, and so fleshed and blooded in the slaughter of many thousands of the English nation, had transported a numerous army of Irish rebels, and suddenly landed them in some good port within the kingdom of England: they would have prevailed very far towards the miserable desolation and ruin thereof. It must be remembered in what a most unhappy discomposure the affairs were at that time there; what a diseased body the state then had, and what high distempers then strongly working, soon after brake out, what a strong party they might have found within, and with what great reputation they would have marched on under the glory of their late victories atchived in Ireland, signalizing the power of their arms with such horrid cruelties and bloody butcheries, as would have wrought a strange terrour among the people.

Thus we see what were the causes and first motives to this unnatural rebellion; as likewise who were the chief actors and the great instruments designed by the first plotters to pre-dispose the people to a readiness to take arms for the rooting out of the British inhabitants from among them. The preparatives being all made, the plot in all points ripe

1647.

The English goods presented to the Irish as a chief means to raise them up against them.

for execution, it was carried on to the evening before the day appointed for the taking of the castle of Dublin without discovery. And tho' it pleased God to bring it then to light (as hath been declared) and so happily to dis-appoint it in the main piece, yet it took in the northern parts, being that very day fully executed in most of the chief places of strength within the province of Ulster. And whereas the priests did long before in their publick devotions at mass pray for a blessing upon a great design they had then in hand; so now, as I have heard, they did in many places, the very day before the breaking out of this rebellion, give the people a dismiss at mass with free liberty to go out, and take possession of all their lands, which they pretended, were unjustly detained from them by the English; as also to strip, rob, and despoil them of all their goods and cattle. They had, without doubt, by one means or other, either private or publick instructions, not to leave to the English any thing that might afford the least comfort or hope of longer subsistence among them. This was the main bait used to draw on the common people; and this wrought far more powerfully than all other persuasions, fictions, or wild chimeras that they infused into them. It is most apparent, that the prime gentlemen in all parts, as well as their clergy, pressed them on to despoil the English of all their goods and cattle, well knowing their avaricious humour and greedy desires to get them into their possession, and that they could not possibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more desperately to execute all manner of villanies, than the hopes of enjoying

enjoying so rich a prey now presented unto them.

1641.

The people being now set at liberty, and prepossessed by their priests with a belief that it was lawful for them to rise up, and * destroy all the protestants, who, they told them, were worse than dogs; that they were devils, and served the devil; assuring them the killing of such was a meritorious act, and a rare preservative against the pains of purgatory, gathered themselves together in great numbers, assembling in several companies through the several parts of the northern counties, with staves, sithes, and pitch-forks, for at first they had not many better weapons: and so in a most confused manner, they began tumultuously to drive away at the first, only the cattle belonging to the English, and then to break into their houses, and seize upon their goods. It is true, there were some murders committed the very first day of their rising, and some houses set on fire, but these as I conceive, were for the most part out of private spleen, or where they had particular instructions so to do, as they had from the lord Mac-Guire, to kill master Arthur Champion, a justice of peace in the county of Fermanagh, who with several others, his neigh-

The people made to believe by their priests that it was a meritorious act to kill the English.

The Irish rise and first drive away all the cattle belonging to the English.

K 4

bours,

* John Barry of Druermosh, in the county of Armagh, deposeth, that O Cullan a priest, told his auditors at mass, that the bodies of such as died in this quarrel, should not be cold before their souls should ascend up into heaven, and that they should be free from the pains of purgatory.

Margaret Bromley in her examination deposeth, that some of the rebels would say, after their cruel butcheries, that they knew if themselves should now die, their souls should go to heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the English.

1642.

The Irish gentlemen possess themselves of the goods belonging to the English, under pretence of securing them.

The next act was to strip the English, man, woman and child stark naked, and to turn them out of their own doors. All manner of relief forbidden to the English as they passed upon the high-ways stripped and despoiled of all they had.

bours, were murdered at his own house, upon the 23d of October in the morning. But certainly that which they mainly intended at first, and which they most busily employed themselves about, was the driving away the English-mens cattle, and possessing their goods: wherein the common people were not the only actors, but even the chief gentlemen of the Irish in many places, most notoriously appeared, and under plausible pretences of securing their goods from the rapine and spoil of the common sort, got much peaceably into their hands: and so confident were the English of their good dealing at first, as many delivered their goods by retail unto them, gave them particular inventories of all they had, nay digged up such of their best things as they had hidden under ground, to deposite in their custody. Much likewise they got by fair promises and deep engagements to do them no further mischief, to suffer them, their wives and children quietly to retire and leave the country: but others, and especially the meaner sort of people, fell more rudely to work, at the very first, breaking up of their houses, and using all manner of force and violence, to make themselves masters of their goods.

And having thus seized upon all their goods and cattle, ranfack'd their houses, gotten their persons under their power; the next thing they did, was to strip man, woman and child, many of them stark naked, and so to turn them out of their own doors, not permitting them in some places so much as to shelter themselves under bushes, or in the woods, and strictly prohibiting all the Irish under great penalties, to give them entertainment,

tertainment, or any kind of relief; as they passed on upon the high-ways. And certainly their design in this, most notoriously appears to have been no other than that all such as they would not lay their hands upon, and cruelly murder in cold blood, might miserably perish of themselves through cold, nakedness and want; and therefore as fast as any of them so stripped got old rags to cover their nakedness, they endeavoured to strip them again, and again: as may appear by the examination of John Gourly, who deposeth, that some were stripped twice, some thrice: as fast as they could get any old rags to cover their nakedness, the next Irish woman, or even the children that met them would take them off: and he and his wife further depose, that when their house, together with the town of Armagh were set on fire by the rebels, she was stripped of her clothes seven several times after she got other clothes; and at length, they left her not so much as her smock or hair-lace; and that she got to a place and hid herself in a hutch for three or four days, and after went to find out her children, two of which had the small-pox visibly upon them. Jurat. Nov. 8th, 1642.

1642.
The manner of stripping the English.

How infallibly this course succeeded, and how surely they compassed their devilish ends hereby, is but too well known: the English leaving sufficient monuments in the high-ways as they passed, as well as in the towns wherein they arrived, of the dismal mortality it bred among them. And for the fuller satisfaction of any one who shall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to insert these two ensuing examinations.

The miseries and mortality it brought among them.

James

1641.

James Redfern, of the county of Londonderry, deposeth, That in the town of Colerain, since the rebellion began, there died of robbed and stripped people that fled thither for succour, many hundreds, besides those of the town who had anciently dwelt there, and that the mortality there was such, and so great, as many thousands died there in two days, and that the living, though scarce able to do it, laid the carcases of those dead persons in great ranks, into vast and wide holes, laying them so close and thick, as if they had packed up herrings together.

Magdalen Redman, late of the Dowris, in the King's-County, widow, being sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, That she, this deponent, and divers others protestants, her neighbours, and amongst the rest, twenty-two widows, after they were all robbed, were also strip'd stark naked, and then they covering themselves in a house with straw, the rebels then and there lighted the straw with fire, and threw it amongst them, on purpose to burn them; where they had been burned or smothered, but that some of the rebels, more pitiful than the rest, commanded these cruel rebels to forbear, so as they escaped: yet the rebels kept and drove them naked into the wild woods, from Tuesday until Saturday in frost and snow, so as the snow unmelted, lay long upon some of their skins, and some of their children died in their arms: and when, as the deponent and the rest endeavoured to have gone away for refuge to the Burre, the cruel rebels turned them again, saying, they should go towards Dublin; and when they endeavoured to go towards Dublin, they hindered them again, and said, they should

should go to the Burre; and so tossed them to and fro: yet, at length, such of those poor stripped people as died not before they got away out of the hands of the rebels, escaped to the Burre, where they were harboured and relieved by one William Parsons, esq; and yet there died at the Burre of those strip'd persons, about forty men, women and children. And this deponent, and those other strip'd people that survived, lived miserably at the Burre aforesaid, until they, with the rest, had quarter to come from thence to Dublin.

Jur. 7 March, 1642.

John Watfon,
William Aldrich.

Isabel, the relict of Christopher Porter, late of Dowris, in the King's-County, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, in all the particulars above-mentioned, as Magdalen Redman, before examined, being her neighbour.

Some

1642.

Some of the most notorious Cruelties, and barbarous Murders, committed by the Irish Rebels, attested upon oath, as they appear in several examinations here annexed.

A particular enumeration of several bloody massacres and horrid cruelties, exercised upon the British, all testified upon oath, and taken out of several examinations, which are inserted in the notes.

WE may in these poor souls, as it were, in large characters, behold the miseries of all those multitudes of men, women and children, that were in all parts of the kingdom thus inhumanly strip'd, and so exposed to the same want, cold, and nakedness. The mercies of the wicked are cruel: how bitter was their compassion to all those British that thus suffered? how horrid, barbarous, and insupportable was the commiseration they thus expressed towards them? yet these were, as they told them at first, but the beginnings of their sorrows: for when the northern rebels began to find their own strength, and that partly by treachery, partly by force, they had possessed themselves of all the chief places of strength in Ulster, disarmed the English, robbed them of their goods and cattle, strip-ped them of their clothes, and had their persons now under their power, and all this without any considerable resistance made by them; then they could contain themselves no longer, but in a most fierce outrageous manner, furiously broke out, acting in all places of that province, with most abominable cruelty, those horrid massacres and execrable murders, as would make any christian ear to tingle at the sad commemoration of them: then they began to appear in their own colours, and with great delight to satiate their ancient implacable malice, in their long wish-
ed

ed and often plotted destruction of all the British inhabitants. Within the county of Fermanagh, multitudes were presently killed in cold blood, some taken at the plough, others as they sat peaceably in their own houses, others travelling upon the ways, all without any manner of provocation by them given, suddenly surprised and unexpectedly cut off. At the castle of * Lisgool, within that county, above one hundred and fifty men, women and children almost all consumed by fire. At the castle of † Moneah, near one hundred British there slain all together: and the same bloody company of rebels were no sooner admitted into the castle of † Tullah, which was delivered up into the hands of Roury Mac-Guire, upon composition, and faithful promises of fair quarter, but that within the very court they began to strip the people, and most cruelly put them to the sword,

1641.
Multitudes
killed in
cold blood.

* Thomas Wenslaw and John Simfon, of the county of Fermanagh, gentlemen, depose and say, That in the castle of Lisgool, there were one hundred and fifty-two men, women and children burnt, or smothered, when the said castle was set on fire; not above two or three escaped, as appears in their examination. Jurat. Jan. 12, Anno Dom. 1641.

† Thomas Wenslaw further deposeth, That at the castle of Moneah, there were ninety protestants more slain and murdered: and that from the castle of Moneah, the rebels marched to the castle of Tullah, where, by their own confession, they promised those protestants that were there fair quarters: but when they had delivered up their arms and the castle, those rebels in the bawn of the castle, first stripped them all of their cloathes, and then, and there most cruelly murdered them.

† Richard Bourk, batchelor in divinity, of the county of Fermanagh, deposeth, That he heard and verily believeth the burning and killing of one hundred at least in the castle of Tullah, and that the same was done after fair quarter promised. Jurat. July 12, 1643.

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sword, murdering them all without mercy. * At Liffenskeah they hanged, or otherwise killed, above one hundred persons, most of them of the Scottish nation; for after once they had the English in their power, they spared none of them, but used all the Scots with as much cruelty as they did the English. This county was very well planted by the British undertakers, and all of them and their tenants in a very short space after, were, in a most horrible manner quite destroyed, or utterly banished from their habitations. In the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where the British were much more numerous, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, and his brother Furlagh O'Neal, the principal actors, the murders of the British, were much more multiplied and committed with greater cruelty, if it were possible, than in any other places.

There were † one thousand men, women and children, carried out at several times in several

* Roury Mac-Gwire, upon the 24th of October 1641, came with his company unto Liffenskeah, and desired, in a friendly manner, to speak with Mr. Middleton, who had the keeping of the castle. The first thing he did, as soon as he was entered therein, was to burn the records of the county, whereof Mr. Middleton was the keeper, being clerk of the peace, which he forced him to deliver unto him; as likewise one thousand pounds he had in his hands of sir William Balfour's; which, as soon as he had, he compelled the said Middleton to hear mass, swear never to alter from it, and immediately after caused him, his wife and his children to be hanged up, and hanged and murdered one hundred persons besides, at least, in that town. These particulars, and several other, set down at large in a relation sent me by sir John Dunbar; knight, one of the justices of peace within the county of Fermanagh.

† One thousand men, women and children were drowned in one place. This number is deposed in Dr. Maxwell's examination, taken the 22d of August, 1642.

several troops, and all unmercifully drowned at the bridge of Portnedown, which was broken down in the midst, and so driving and forcing them on, threw them into the river. And as other relations give it in, * four thousand persons were drowned within the several parts of that county. † The rebels in a most barbarous manner drove on many of those miserable stripped christians unto the place of their sufferings like swine; and if any were slack in their pace, they sometimes pricked them forwards with their swords and pikes, often hastning on the rest either by killing or wounding some of their fellows in the way.

‡ Other companies they carried out under pretence of giving them safe conduct out of the

* This number of so many persons drowned within the county of Armagh, is deposed by Thomas Green, and Elizabeth his wife, as appears by their examinations, taken November 10, 1643.

† William Clerk, of the county of Armagh, tanner, saith, that he with one hundred men, women and children, or thereabout, were by the rebels driven like hogs about six miles, to a river called the Band: in which space the foresaid christians were most barbarously used, by forcing them to go fast by swords and pikes, thrusting them into their sides, and they murdered three by the way, and the rest they drove to the river aforesaid, and there forced them to go upon the bridge, which was cut down, and with their pikes and swords, and other weapons, thrust them down headlong into the said river, and immediately they perished; and those who assumed to swim to the shoar, the rebels stood and shot at. Jurat, Jan. 7, 1641.

Mary, the wife of Ralph Corn, deposeth, that one hundred and eighty English were taken by the Irish, and driven like cattle from Castle-Cumber to Athy.

‡ Elizabeth, the wife of captain Rue Price of the town and county of Armagh, deposeth that five of her children

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the country, and so got them to go cheerfully on by vertue of sir Phelim O Neals pass, until they came at some place fit for their execution. * And if they drowned them, then they had some prepared to shoot or knock down with poles any such as could swim, or used any other means to escape out of the water. † Amongst many others, a gentlewoman, whose name was Cambell, being forcibly brought by them to the river, and she finding no means to escape their fury, suddenly clasped her arms about one of the chief rebels that was most forward to thrust her into the water; and, as I find it credibly related upon oath, carried him to the bottom with

children, together with one hundred and ten other protestants, out of the parishes of Armagh, Laughal, and other places, were sent away with passes from sir Phelim O'Neal, with promise to be safely conveyed over to their friends in England: that their conductor was captain Manus O Cane and his soldiers, who having brought, or rather driven them like sheep or beasts to the bridge of Portnedown, there forced or threw all those poor prisoners into the water, together with the deponent's five children, and then and there drowned most of them.

* And those who could swim and come to the shoar, they either knocked them on the head, and so after drowned them, or else shot them to death in the water. Jurat. Jan. 29, 1641.

Christian Stanhaw, the relict of Henry Stanhaw, of the parish of Laughal, in the county of Armagh, deposeth, that upon the drowning of one hundred and forty protestants one time at Portnedown-bridge, after they had thrown them in, some of them swimming, to the shoar, the rebels with their muskets knocked out their brains. Jurat. July 23, 1642.

† James Shaw, of Market-Hill, in the county of Armagh, deposeth the manner of mistress Cambell's pulling the rebel into the water, and how he was drowned with her. Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.

with her, and so they were both drowned together. * The cathedral church and town of Armagh were burnt, many towns laid waste, all the fair plantations made by the British left desolate; in some parishes † two hundred families murdered and destroyed, the whole country, as it were a common butchery; and thorough all parts of it very many thousands perished in a short time by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other manner of cruel deaths, that rage and malice could invent.

But before I leave this subject, I shall pass a little further, and out of some examinations

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ons

* Captain Parkin deposeth, that sir Phelim O Neal flying from Dundalk, went to Armagh, where he began his bloody massacres, causing Manus O Cant to get together all the protestants which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to Colerain; but before they were scarce a day's journey from him, they were all murdered; and so were several others by special direction from sir Phelim O Neal, and his brother Turlagh, notwithstanding they were protected by them. All the aged people in Armagh were by the same directions carried away, but murdered also at Charlemount. And presently after, his brother and he, with their adherents, maliciously set on fire the goodly cathedral church of Armagh, and town of Armagh, and murdered and drowned there five hundred persons, young and old. At the parish of Killaman, forty eight families were then murdered by directions from sir Phelim O Neal, who had remained protected by him three quarters of a year. Jurat. March 8, 1643.

† Jane Grace, the wife of Nicholas Grace, late of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, deposeth, that there were two and twenty English protestants burned in one house, within two miles of Kilmore; and that the rebels stripped, killed, or murdered all, or most of the English of that parish, which consisted of two hundred families. That they set many in the stocks until they confessed their money, and when they could get no more, that then they murdered them.

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Some hor-
rid inhu-
man cruel-
ties exerci-
sed on
particular
persons.

ons (taken here upon oath, which I have perused) present a brief collection of some other horrid inhuman cruelties, which I find were used in the murdering of many poor innocent souls. To many, these bloody villains shewed so much favour, as suddenly to dispatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave, or † time to say their prayers; for others, they held a sudden death too easy a punishment: therefore they imprisoned * some in most beastly Dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and there clapping bolts on their heels, suffered them to perish at leisure; others they barbarously † mangled, and left languishing

† Edward Saltinglass, of the county of Armagh, gent. deposeth, and saith, that George Lawlis, a rebel, of the said county, resolving to kill John Cowder, told him he would kill him, but bid him first say his prayers; whereupon the said Cowder kneeling down to pray, the said Lawlis instantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees. Jurat. June 1, 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposeth, that when as divers of the English were about to be murdered, and desired the rebels on their knees first to admit them to make their prayers to God; the rebels have often, in her, the deponent's hearing, in Irish, answered and said, "bequeath your soul to the devil;" and at other times the rebels would say, "why should you pray, your soul is with the devil already?" And with those words in their mouths would slaughter and put them to death. Jurat. ut supra.

* Edward Banks of Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, clerk, deposeth, that the rebels there, on the first day of January, killed fifteen men and women, all English protestants, at Cashel, and that they entered and took the town; and having the same, that they took this deponent, and other clergymen, and then and there forthwith caused them to be put in the *dungeon* where they continued twelve weeks in most miserable slavery. Jurat. April 21, 1642.

† John Cregg, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, deposeth, that in the parish of Levilegish, there were di-

vers

+ *Dungeon*

languishing upon the high-ways, crying out but for so much mercy as to be delivered out of their pain.

Others they buried * alive, a manner of death they used to several British in several places : And † at Clownis, within the county of Fermanagh, there were seventeen persons having been hanged till they were half dead, cast together into a pit, and being covered over with a little earth, lay pitifully, sending
L 2 out

vers English men cruelly murdered ; some twice, some thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for some to come and end their miseries by killing of them. Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

* William Parkinson of Castle-cumber, in the county of Kilkenny, gent. deposeth, that by the credible report both of English and some Irish, who affirmed they were eye-witnesses, a bloody murder was committed near Kilséal in the queen's county, upon an Englishman, his wife, four or five children, and a maid, all which were hanged, by the command of sir Morgan Cavanagh and Robert Harpool, and afterwards put all in one hole, the youngest child being not fully dead, put out the head and cried mammy, mammy, when without mercy they buried him alive. Jurat. Feb. 11, 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposeth, that Thomas Mason, an English protestant of Langan, being extremely beaten and wounded, was carried away by his wife and some others ; for revenge of which, the rebels most cruelly hacked, slashed and wounded them ; and that done, dragged the said Mason unto a hole, and then and there threw earth, stones and rubbish upon him, and with the weight thereof kept him under, so as the said Mason's wife told this deponent, he cried out and languished, till his own wife, to put him out of his pain, rather than hear him cry still, tied her handkerchief over his mouth, and therewith stopped his breath, so as he died. Jurat. June 19, 1641.

†. This particular, concerning the seventeen men buried alive at Clownis, was testified unto me by Mrs. Aldrich, who was then kept prisoner in the town by the rebels, and heard their pitiful cries.

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x ropes.

out most lamentable groans for a good time after. * Some were deadly wounded and so hanged upon tentorhooks. † Some had ropes about their necks, and so drawn through the water; some had withes, and so drawn up and down thorough woods and bogs; others were hanged up and taken down, and hanged up again several times, and all to make them confess their money, which as soon as they

* William Parkinson, late of Castle-cumber, in the county of Kilkenny, deposeth, that he saw Lewis O Brennan, with his sword drawn in the said town, pursue after an English boy of eight or nine years of age, or thereabouts, by name Richard Bernet, into an house, and saw the said Lewis laid the said boy forth of the house, the blood running about his ears, in a hair-rope, and led the boy to his father's tentors, and there hanged him with John Banks another little boy. Jurat. ut supra.

† Edward Saltingstone of the county of Armagh, gent. deposeth, that Manus O Cane, Bryan O Kelly, Shane O Neil, Neil Oge O Neil, gent. did take William Blundel of Grange, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and put a rope about his neck, and threw him into the Blackwater at Charlemount, and drew him up and down the water to make him confess his money, who thereupon gave them twenty-one pounds, yet within three weeks after, he, his wife, and seven children were drowned by the rebels. And further saith, that Samuel Law of Grenan, in the parish of Armagh, was by the said Neil Oge O Neil and others, brought to a wood, and that then, they there put a withe about his neck, and so drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promise them ten pounds. Jurat. ut supra.

Margaret Fermeny, in the county of Fermanagh, deposeth, that the rebels bound her and her husband's hands behind them, to make them confess their money, and dragged them up and down in a rope, and cut his throat in her own sight with a skein, having first knocked him down, and stripped him, and that being an aged woman seventy-five years old, as she came up afterwards to Dublin, she was stripped by the Irish seven times in one day, the rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them cloths. Jurat.

a long knife, resembling a Butcher's,
but much larger.

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they had told, they then dispatched them out of the way. * Others were hanged up by the arms, and with many slashes and cuts they made the experiment with their swords how many blows an Englishman would endure before he died. Some had their † bellies ripp'd up, and so left with their guts running about their heels. But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman monsters for ‡ women, whose sex they neither pitied nor spared, hanging up several women,

L 3

many

* Edward Wilfon of the county of Monaghan, deposeth, that among other cruelties used by the rebels to the English, they hung up some by the arms, and then hacked them with their swords, to see how many blows they could endure before they died. Jurat.

† Anne the wife of Mervin Maddley, late of the city of Kilkenny, gent. sworn and examined, deposeth, that some of the rebels in Kilkenny, aforesaid, struck and beat a poor English-woman until she was forced into a ditch, where she died, those barbarous rebels having first ripp'd up her child, of about six years of age, and let her guts run about her heels. Jurat.

James Geare of the county of Monaghan, deposeth, that the rebels at Clownis murdered one James Netterville, proctor to the minister there, who although he was diversly wounded, his belly ripp'd up, and his entrails taken out and laid above a yard from him, yet he bled not at all, untill they lifted him up and carried him away; at which this deponent being an eye-witness, much wondered; and thus barbarously they used him after they had drawn him to go to mass with them. Jurat. April 6, 1642.

‡ Owen Frankland of the city of Dublin, deposeth, that Michael Garrahy told this deponent, that there was a Scotchman, who being driven by the rebels out of Newry, and knocked on the head by the Irish, recovered himself, and came again into the town naked: whereupon the rebels carried him and his wife out of the town, cut him all to pieces, and with a skain ripp'd his wife's belly, so as a child dropp'd out of her womb. Jurat. July 23, 1642.

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many of them great with child, whose * bellies they ripp'd up as they hung, and so let the little infants fall out; a course they ordinarily took with such as they found in that sad condition. † And sometimes they gave their children to Swine; § some the dogs eat; and some taken † alive out of their mothers bellies, they cast into ditches. And for sucking children

* At Ballimcolough, within four miles of the city of Ross, in April 1642. John Stone of the Graige, his son, his two sons-in-law, and his two daughters, were hanged; one of his daughters being great with child, her belly was ripp'd up, her child taken forth, and such barbarous beastly actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.

† Philip Taylor, late of Portnedown, deposeth, that the rebels killed a Dyer's wife of Ross-trever, at the Newry, and ripped up her belly, she being great with child of two children, and threw her and her children into a ditch, and that he this deponent drove away Swine from eating one of her children. Jurat.

§ John Montgomery of the county of Monaghan, sworn and examineth, saith, that one Brian Mac-Erony, ringleader, of the rebels in the county of Fermanagh, killed Ensign Floyd, Robert Worcnum, and four of their servants, one of which they having wounded, though not to death, they buried quick. As also, that he was credibly informed, that the daughter-in-law of one Foard in the parish of Clownish, being delivered of a child in the fields, the rebels, who had formerly killed her husband and father, killed her and two of her children, and suffered the dogs to eat up and devour her new-born child. Jurat. June 26, 1642.

† Katherine, the relict of William Coke, of the county of Armagh, carpenter, deposeth, that the rebels of the said county robbed, stripped and murdered a great company of protestants, some by burning, some by the sword, some by hanging, and the rest by starving, and other deaths. And this deponent to shun their rage; and save her poor life, hid herself in a ditch of water, and sat there among high rushes so long, as that she was almost frozen and starved to death, and then crawled away secretly. And further saith, that some of the rebels that escaped

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children, and others of a riper age, some * had their brains knock'd out; others † were trampled under foot to death; † some they

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cut

escaped and fled from the battle of Lisnagarvey, meeting one Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Frankland, both great with child, and six of their children with them, those rebels then and there with their pikes killed and murdered them all, and after ripped open the gentlewomens bellies, took out their children, the one of them being quick and threw them into a ditch, in the sight of Jane this deponent's daughter; who escaped because she spoke Irish, and said she was an Irish woman. Jurat. Febr. 24, 1643.

* James Stevenson, clerk of the county of Leitrim, deposeth, that the rebels there took Isabel Stevenson, a young child, left at Fostering, with one Hugh Mac Arran, and enquiring whose child it was, they told him it was a Scottish-man's child, whereupon they took the child by the heels, and run and beat the brains of it out against a tree. Jurat. April 20, 1643.

† Anne Hill, wife of Arthur Hill, in the county of Catherlaugh, deposeth, that as she passed through the county of Wicklow, William the plaisterer, with nine or ten rebels more, pulled off her back a young child of one year and a quarter old, threw it on the ground, trod on it that it died, stripped herself and four small children, who by the cold they thereby got, since died. Jurat.

‡ John Stubs of the county of Longford, gent. deposeth, that he heard by some of the sheriffs men, that Henry Mead and his wife, John Bigel, William Stell, and Daniel Stubs the deponent's brother, were put to death by Lifagh Farrols, and Oli. Fitz-Gerralds men, who hanged them upon a wind-mill, and when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their skeins. Jurat. Novemb. 21, 1641.

El. Price deposeth, that a great number of poor protestants, especially of women and children, they pricked and stabbed with their skeins, pitchforks and fwords, and would slash, mangle and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them out-right, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death; and whereas those so mangled desired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes after a day or

two,

cut in gobbets and pieces, * others they bit'd up alive; † some were found in the fields, sucking the breasts of their murder'd mothers; others lay stifled in vaults and cellars; others † starved in caves, crying out to their mothers

two, they would dash out their brains with stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour, &c. which she hath in many particulars, been an eye-witness. Jurat. June 29, 1642.

* William Parkinson of Kilkenny esq; deposeth, that the wife of John Harvey told him, that she being at Kilkenny, and having there turned to mass to save her life, was notwithstanding stripped again, together with her children, and one Partell a butcher after he had stripped her daughter of five years of age, ripped up her body till her intrails fell out, whereof she died that night; whereof she complaining to the major of Kilkenny, he bid away with her and dispatch her, so as not only the butcher, but many others did beat and wound her, so as she hardly escaped with her life. Jurat. July 2, 1642.

† Elizabeth Champion late wife of Arthur Champion in the county of Fermanagh esq; deposeth, that when the castle of Lisgool was set on fire by the rebels, a woman leaping out of a window to save herself from burning, was murdered by the rebels; and next morning her child was found sucking her breast, and also murdered by them. Jurat. April 26, 1642.

Charity Chappel, late wife of Richard Chappel Esq; of the town and county of Armagh, deposeth, that as she hath credibly heard, the rebels murdered great numbers of protestants, and that many children were seen lying murder'd in vaults and cellars, whither they fled to hide themselves. Jurat. July 2, 1642.

Thomas Fleetwood, late curate of Killbeggan in the county of West-meath, deposeth, that he hath heard from the mouth of the rebels themselves of great cruelties acted by them: and for one instance, that they stab'd the mother, one Jane Addis by name, and left her little sucking child, not a quarter old, by the dead corps; and then they put the breast of its dead mother into its mouth, and bid it suck, English-bastard, and so left it there to perish. Jurat. March 22, 1642.

† Mary Barlow, deposeth, that her husband being by the

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mothers rather to send them out to be killed by the rebels, than to suffer them to starve there.

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Multitudes of * men, women and children, were found drowned, cast into ditches, boggs and turf-pits; the ordinary sepulchres of the British nation. Thousands died of cold and want in all parts of the country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to stay. † Multitudes enclosed in houses, which being set on fire, they were

the rebels hanged before her face, she and six children were stripped stark naked, and turned out a begging in frost and snow, by means whereof they were almost starved, having nothing to eat in three weeks, while they lay in a cave, but two old calf-skins, which they beat with stones, and so eat them, hair and all; her children crying out unto her, rather to go out and be killed by the rebels, than to starve there. Jurat.

* John Duffield, of the county of Armagh, Gent. deposes, that the rebels wounded John Ward and Richard Duffield, so as they thereof died, and that their wives and the said John's six children, being all stript, died of want and cold. And further saith, that many thousands of protestants, men, women, and children, being stripped of their cloaths, died also of cold and want in several parts of the country. Jurat. Aug. 9, 1642.

† Jane the wife of Gabriel Constable, late of Drumcadd in the county of Armagh, gent. sworn and examined, saith, that her husband and his mother about 88 years old, and his brother, being murdered by the rebels in the parish of Kilmore, that a great number of protestants were about Candlemas 1641. by the means and instigation of Joan Hemkin, formerly a protestant, but a meer Irish woman, and lately turned to mass, and of divers other her assistants, forced and thrust into a thatched house within the parish of Kilmore, and then and there, the protestants being almost naked, covered with the rags only, the same house was by that bloody woman and her barbarous assistants, set on fire in several parts thereof, the

poor

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were there most miserably consumed. * Some dragged out of their sick beds to the place of execution; † children, enforced to carry their aged parents to the places designed for their slaughter; ‡ nay, some children compelled most

poor imprisoned parties (who were by armed parties kept there locked in) were miserably burned to death, and at length the house fell upon them; and the combustible part of the house being consumed before the bodies of all those miserable wretches were burned to ashes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders that were protestants, three only escaped out of a hole of the house, and the rest that attempted to escape the flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and so burned to death. Jurat. June 16, 1642.

* Katharine Madefon of the county of Fermanagh, deposeth, that they drew some lying sick of fevers, out of their beds, and hanged them; and that they drove before them of men, women and children to the number of sixteen, and drowned them in a boggy-pit, knocking such on the head with poles, as endeavoured to get out.

† Thomas Green in the parish of Dumcres in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and Elizabeth his wife, sworn and examined, saith, that the deponent Thomas Green hardly escaped away with his life, but that the other deponent and six children were all left among the rebels, and so stripped of their clothes, and hunger-starved, that five of the children dyed, and she this deponent being put to beg among the merciless rebels, was at length rescued from them by the Scottish army: she further saith, that the rebels did drown in a bog, seventeen men, women and children, at one time within the said parish; and she is verily perswaded that the rebels at several times and places within the county of Armagh, drowned above 4000 protestants, enforcing the sons and daughters of those very aged people, who were not able to go themselves, to take them out of their beds and houses, and carry them to drowning, especially in the river of Toll, in the parish of Loghall. Jurat. November 10, 1643.

‡ John Rutledge deposeth, that such were the barbarous and inhumane cruelties of the rebels, that sometimes they

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most unnaturally to be the executioners of their own parents; wives to help to hang their husbands, * mothers to cast their own children into the water; and yet after these enforced acts, which no doubt were performed out of hopes and assurance to have their own lives saved, always murdered. And such was the malice and most detestable hatred born to the English by the Irish, as they taught their † children to kill English children,

they enforced the wife to kill the husband, the son to kill the father, and the daughter to kill the mother, and then they would hang or put to death the last blood-shedder. He further saith that of his knowledge the rebels in the town of Slego, forced one Lewis the younger to kill his father, and then hanged the son; and in Mogne, in the county of Mayo, the rebels forced one Simon Leper's wife to kill her husband, and then caused her son to kill her, and then they hanged the son.

* This is deposed in Mr. Goldsmith's examination, which is set forth at large in the pages following.

† Anne Read, the relict of Helchiah Read, of the county of Letrim, deposes, that she being stripped of all she had, some of her children died of want and famine, and that one of her sons called Stephen Read, being about six years of age, was about the 10th of February, 1641, in the house of James Gray of the county of Cavan, and going forth to play, there then gathered about him six Irish children of that town, who suddenly fell upon him, and in such a manner that some with sticks, and some with stones, put out his eyes and bruised his body extreamly, so that he by means of those children (which were none of them, as she is perswaded above eight years of age) not long after died, and had been killed out-right in the place, had not an English woman come thither, who took up the dying child from them, saying, she wondered they could find in their hearts so to deal with a poor child; but they answered, they would do as much for her if they were able. Jurat. July 12, 1641.

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dren, and the * Irish women did naturally express as much cruelty as the chiefest rebels among them.

If these be not sufficient, let us over-look the particular ends of some particular persons, and we shall yet in them behold more horrid cruelties than these before-mentioned. What † shall we say to a child boiled to death in a cauldron, a † woman hanged on a tree, and in

* Dennis Kelly of the county of Meath, deposeth, that Garret Tallon of Cruisetown in the said county, gent. (as is commonly reported) hired two men to kill Ann Hagely, wife to Edward Tallon his son, a papist, and at that time absent from home; and the said two men did in a most bloody manner, with skeins kill the said Ann Hagely and her daughter, and her daughter's two children, because they would not consent to go to mass; and after they would not permit them to be buried in a church or church-yard, but they four were buried in a ditch. Jurat. August 23, 1643.

John Griffel of the Queen's county, deposeth, that the women and children in those parts, were as cruel and forward as the men rebels, the children though young being very bold in their robberies, biding this deponent and the rest of the English be gone, or else they should be hanged.

Elizabeth Paskerville, deposeth, that she heard the wife of Florence Fitz-Patrick find much fault with her husband's soldiers, because they did not bring along with them the grease of Mrs. Nicholson, whom they had slain, for her to make candles withal. Jurat. April 26, 1643.

Martha Culm, deposeth, that she heard some of the Irish themselves detest the cruelty of the women who followed their camp, and put them on in cruelty, saying, spare neither man, woman, nor child. Jurat.

† This particular deposed by Margaret Parkin, as also by Elizabeth Bursel, who saith, that the child was of twelve years of age, being the child of Thomas Stratton, of Newtown. Jurat. Jan. 9, 1641.

‡ The wife of Jonathan Linn and his daughter, were seized upon by the rebels near the town of Catherlagh, carried by them into a little wood, called Stapletown-wood,

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in the hair of her head her own daughter hanged up with her; * a woman miserably rent and tore to pieces; † some taken by the rebels, their eyes plucked out, their hands cut off, and so turned out to wander up and down; ‡ others stoned to death; § a man wounded and set upright in a hole digged in the

wood, and there the mother was hanged, and the daughter hanged in the hair of her mother's head, as is deposed by James Shaw, vicar of old Laughlin, Jan. 3, 1643.

* Adam Clover deposed, that he saw upon the highway a woman left by the rebels, stripped to her smock, set upon by three women and some children, being Irish, who miserably rent and tore the said poor English woman, and stripped her of her smock in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell in labour in their hands, and both she and her child died there. Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

† This cruelty was used to some English in the province of Conaught, as was testified to the lords justices and council, as doth appear by their letters.

‡ Thomas Fleetwood, curate of Kilbeggan, in the county of West-Meath, deposes, that the lord president of Conaught, caused an English woman, who could speak Irish, to go towards Dublin with a letter, but she was taken within five miles of the town of Athlone, brought back and stoned to death by the women of the town, dwelling on the hither side of the bridge. Jurat.

James of Hacket's town, in the county of Catherlagh, deposes, that an Irish gentleman told him and others, that he turned an English woman away who was his servant, and had a child; and that before the poor woman and child were gone half a mile, divers Irish women slew them with stones. Jurat. April 21, 1643.

§ John Clerk, of Knockback, gent. deposes, that he heard credibly from Mr. Leightbourne, minister of the Naas, that the rebels shot a parish-clerk near Kildare, through both his thighs, and afterwards digged a deep hole in the ground, wherein they set him upright on his feet, and filled up the hole in the earth, leaving out only his head, in which state and posture they left the poor wounded man till he pined, languished, and so died. Jurat. Octob. 24, 1643.

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the earth, and so covered up to the very chin, there left in that miserable manner to perish; a * man's feet held in the fire till he was burnt to death, his wife hanged at his door; † a minister stripped stark naked, and so driven like a beast thorough the town of Cashel, the rebels following and pricking him forward with darts and rapiers; ‡ a company of men, women, and children, put into a house, and as they were burning, some children that made an escape out of the flames, were taken by the rebels who stood by, cut them in pieces with scythes, and so cast them into the fire again!

Neither

* Katherine, the relict of William Coke, of the county of Armagh, deposeth, that many of her neighbours who had been prisoners among the rebels, said and affirmed, that divers of the rebels would confess, brag, and boast, how they took an English protestant, one Robert Wilkinson, at Kilmore, and held his feet in the fire until they burned him to death: and the same Robert Wilkinson's own son was present, and a prisoner, when that cruelty was exercised on his father. Jurat. Feb. 24. 1643.

† At Cashel in Munster, beside many ministers which they there hanged after a most barbarous manner, they strip'd one naked, and drove him through the town, pricking him forward with darts and rapiers, and so pursuing him till he fell down dead. Jurat. Feb. 24. 1643.

‡ Christian Stanhow, the relict of Henry Stanhow, late of the county of Armagh, esquire, deposeth, that a woman that formerly lived near Laugale, absolutely informed this deponent, that the rebels enforced a great number of protestants, men, women, and children, into a house which they set on fire purposely to burn them, as they did, and still as any of them offered to come out to shun the fire, the wicked rebels with scythes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire, and burned them with the rest. Jurat. July 23. 1642.

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Neither did these horrible tortures, which they put these poor innocent christians unto, assuage their fury; their malice towards them did not determine with their breath. But after so many several bloody ways and cruel intentions wherewith they rent their souls from their wretched bodies, even to their * dead carcases, in some places, they denied all manner of burial; some † they cast into ditches, others ‡ they left to be devoured by dogs

* Adam Clover, of the county of Cavan, deposes, that he observed thirty persons to be most barbarously murdered, and about one hundred and fifty more cruelly wounded, so that traces of blood issuing from them, lay upon the high-way for twelve miles together, and many very young children were left and perished by the way, to the number of sixty, or thereabouts; because the cruelties of the rebels were such, that their parents and friends could not carry them further. And further saith, that some of the rebels vowed, that if any digged graves, wherein to bury the dead children, they should be buried therein themselves: so the poor people left most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls. Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

† Edward Saltinstale deposes, that the rebels killed William Loverden when he was naked, his wife and children looking on, and cutting off his head, held it up to his wife and children; and his sorrowful wife taking his corpse and burying of it in a garden, Patrick O Dally, a rebel, took it up, and threw it into a ditch. Jurat. ut supra.

‡ Thomas Green and Elizabeth his wife, depose, that the rebels at several times murdered, killed and destroyed the most part of the protestants in the parish of Duncres, being about three hundred, and indeed most of the protestants in all the county thereabouts, did they kill and destroy, by drowning, hanging, burning, the sword, starving, and other deaths, exposing their slaughtered bodies to be devoured by dogs, swine, and other ravenous creatures: and this deponent, Elizabeth, saw the dogs feed upon those dead carcases. Jurat. Nov. 10, 1643.

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dogs and swine, others by fowls and ravenous birds; nay, * several which had been formerly buried, they digged up, and left them to putrify above ground.

And these truly are but some of those ways, among many others which, with most exquisite pains and cruel tortures, were used by these merciless † rebels to let in death among an innocent, unprovoking, unresisting people, that had always lived peaceably with them, ‡ administering all manner of helps and comforts

* Richard Bourk, batchelor of divinity, deposeth, that he was informed, that Mr. Lodge, arch-deacon of Killaloe, being buried about six years since; with his, divers other ministers bones were digged out of their graves as patrons of heresy, by direction of the titular bishop of Killaloe; and Robert Jones, a minister, was not admitted christian burial, by direction of some popish priests. Jurat. July 12, 1643.

David Buck deposeth, that in the parish of Munrath, in the Queen's-County, the rebels digged up a number of English men's graves, and left the corps above ground to be abused by dogs, hogs, or any other ravenous creatures.

† Arthur Agmoughty deposeth, that during the siege of Castle-Forbez, the rebels killed poor children that went out to eat weeds or grass; and that a poor woman whose husband was taken by the rebels, went to them with two children at her feet, and one at her breast, hoping to beg her husband's life; but they slew her and her sucking child, broke the neck of another of her children, and the third hardly escaped. Jurat, Sept. 23, 1643.

‡ Mr. Creighton deposeth in his examination, that sometimes the chief of the Irish would make heavy moan for the evils they perceived were coming on their country and kindred, and said, they saw utter destruction at hand, for that they had covered so great a bitterness so long in their hearts against the English, and now so suddenly broke out against them, that had brought them up, kept them in their houses like children, and had made no difference between them, their English friends and

comforts to those who were in distress, that made no difference betwixt them and those of their own nation, but ever cherished them as friends, and loving neighbours, without giving any cause of unkindness or distaste unto them. It is not possible to recollect or express the wickedness of their mischievous inventions, or horror of their bloody executions, actuated with all kind of circumstances that might aggravate the height of their cruelty towards them. Alas! who can comprehend the fears, terrors, anguish, bitterness and perplexity of their souls, the despairing passions and consternation in their minds! What strange amazed thoughts must it needs raise in their sad hearts, to find themselves so suddenly surprised without remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward miseries which could possibly by man be inflicted upon any humane creatures! What sighs, groans, trembling, astonishment! What screeches, cries, and bitter lamentations of wife and children, friends and servants, howling and weeping about them, all finding themselves without any manner of hope or deliverance from their present misery and pain! How inexorable were their barbarous tormentors, that compassed them on every side without all bowels of compassion, any sense of their sufferings or the least commiseration and pity, the common comforters of men in misery.

M It and kindred, by all which the English had so well deserved of them, and they had requited them so evil, that the English would never trust them hereafter; and now it remains that either they must destroy the English, or the English them. Jurat. ut supra.

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It was no small addition to their sorrows, to hear * the base reviling speeches used against their country and country-men, some loudly threatening † all should be cut off, and utterly destroyed that had one drop of English blood in them; the Irish women crying

* Fran. Barbour, of Dublin, gent. deposeth, that at the beginning of the rebellion, he heard several of the rebels publickly say, that now the day was their own, and that they had been slaves to the English a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before Christmas-day, an English protestant rogue living, with other like bitter words. Jurat. Jan. 5. 1643.

Jane the relict of Gabriel Constable, deposeth, that the rebels having half killed one Ellen Millington, and then put her into a dry hole made for a well, and made her fast in with stones, whereof she languished and died; the rebels bragged how many of them went to see her kick and toss in the hole, her husband being formerly murdered by the rebels. Jurat. ut supra.

† Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Green, deposeth, that she heard the rebels say, the English were meat for dogs; that there should not be one drop of English blood left within the kingdom, and that they would destroy all, the very English children whom they called bastards. Jurat. Nov. 10. 1643.

Richard Cleybrook deposeth, that he heard Luke Toole say, that they would not leave an English man or English woman in the kingdom; that they would not leave an English beast alive, or any of the breed of them.

Samuel Man, of the county Fermanagh, gent. deposeth, that he heard some of the Irish say, that there should not be one English man, woman, or child left in the kingdom. Jurat.

Elizabeth Dickingson deposeth, that she heard some of the company of Roury Mac-Gwire, say, that the Irish had command to leave never a drop of English blood in Ireland. Jurat. Nov. 17, 1642.

Catherine Madeson, of the County of Fermanagh, deposeth, that she hath often heard the rebels say, that they would drive all the English and Scottish out of the kingdom, and that both man, woman, and child should be cut off and destroyed. Jurat. Nov. 17, 1642.

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erying out to spare neither man, woman, nor child that was English; that the English were meat for dogs, and their children bastards.

How grievous and insupportable must it needs be to a true christian soul, to hear a base * villain boast, that his hands were so weary with killing and knocking down protestants into a bog, that he could not lift his arms up to his head? or others to say, † that they had killed so many English men that the grease or fat which remained on their swords or skins, might have made an Irish candle; or to consider, that two young ‡ cow-boys should have it in their pow-

M 2

* Elenor Fullerton, the relict of William Fullerton, late Parson of Longall, deposeth, that in Lent, 1642, a young roguing cow-boy gave out and affirmed in this deponent's hearing, that his hands were so weary in killing and knocking down protestants into a bog-pit, that he could hardly lift his arms to his head. Jurat. Sept. 16, 1642.

Owen Frankland deposeth, that he heard Hugh O'Cane, late servant to Mrs. Stanhaw, calling to his fellows in a boasting manner, asking them what they had been doing at home all the day, that he had been abroad and had killed sixteen of the rogues, and shewed them some money. Jurat. Sept. 16, 1642.

† Elizabeth Champion, late wife of Arthur Champion, in the county of Fermanagh, esq; saith, that she heard the rebels say, that they had killed so many English men, that the grease or fat which remained upon their swords and skins, might well serve to make an Irish candle. Jurat. April 14, 1642.

‡ John Birne, late of Dongannon, in the county of Tyrone, deposeth, that he heard some of the native Irish that were somewhat more merciful than the rest, complain that two young cow-boys within the parish of Tullah, had at several times murdered and drowned thirty six women and children. Jurat. Jan. 12, 1643.

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er to murder thirty six protestants. Who-
soever shall seriously weigh these particulars,
will not much wonder that so great num-
bers of British and protestants, should be
destroyed in so short a time after * the first
breaking out of the rebellion, as Mr. Cun-
ningham deposeth in his examination. He
there saith, that the account of the persons
killed by the rebels from the time of the be-
ginning of the rebellion, October 23, 1641,
unto the month of April following, was, as
the priests weekly gave it in, in their several
parishes, one hundred and five thousand.
Jurat, April 22, 1641. TO SIGNED WITH ME

When the castle of Lisgoole † was set on
fire by the rebels, and so many British, as
are before-mentioned, consumed in the flames,
those mischievous villains that had done that
wicked fact, cried out with much joy, "how
sweetly do they fry!" How did the inhabi-
tants of † Kilkenny (a city planted with old
English

* James Shaw, a minister, deposeth, that after the
cessation made with the Irish, divers of them confessed,
the priests had given them the sacrament, upon condi-
tion they should not spare man, woman, or child, that
were protestants; and that he heard divers of them
saying in a bragging manner, that it did them much
good to wash their hands in the blood of the protestants
which they had slain. Jurat, Jan. 7, 1643.

† Elizabeth Champion deposeth, that when the rebels
had set the castle of Lisgoole on fire upon the protestants
there inclosed, and saw the said house so burning, they
said among themselves rejoicingly, "O how sweetly do
they fry!" Jurat, ut supra.

‡ William Lucas, of the city of Kilkenny, deposeth,
that although he lived in the town till about five or six
weeks past, in which time he is assured divers murders
and cruel acts were committed, yet he durst not go abroad
to see any of them: but he doth confidently believe that
the

English, where civility and good manners seemed to flourish) solate and please themselves in abusing most unchristianly the heads of a minister and six other protestants, brought in a kind of triumph into that town: certainly it is not to be imagined, much less expressed, with what scorn and derision they acted these great cruelties upon all British which they had gotten into their power; with what joy and exultation their eyes did behold the sad spectacle of their miseries; what * greedy de-

M 3 light

the rebels having brought seven protestants heads, whereof one was the head of Mr. Bingham, a minister, they did then and there as triumphs of their victory, set them upon the market-cross, on a market-day, and that the rebels flashed, stabbed and mangled those heads; put a gag, or carrot, in the said Mr. Bingham's mouth, slit up his cheeks to his ears, laying a leaf of a bible before him, and bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough; and after they had so solaced themselves, threw those heads in a hole in St. James's-Green. Jurat. Aug. 16, 1643.

* Julian Johnson, the relict of John Johnson, of the county of Galway, deposeth, that after the slaughter of some English, she heard one O Moly, a friar, say in a triumphing manner, "it was a brave sport to see the young men (meaning some of the English then slain) defending themselves on every side, and their two eyes burning in their heads." And further, that she heard some of the cruel soldiers then and there brag and boast of the brave sport they had, by putting fire to the straw which a stripped English woman had tied about her, saying, "how bravely the fire then made the English jade to dance!" Jurat. Feb. 8, 1643.

Joan Constable, the relict of Gabriel Constable, deposeth, that the out-cries, lamentations, and schrieches of the poor protestants, burned in a thatched house in the parish of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail, to mollify the hardened hearts of their murderers, but they most boldly made brags thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating those cries, and in telling the deponent and others, how the children gaped when the fire began to burn

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light and pleasure they took in their bloody executions; what † malice and hatred they expressed towards them, many with the last stroke of death giving them in their last agony * that fearful valediction, in Irish, *aním a dúel*, thy soul to the devil.

But it was no wonder that they carried themselves after this barbarous manner to these

burn them; and threatened and told her, this deponent, before it were long she and the rest of the protestants should suffer the like deaths. And further saith, that the rebels within the county of Armagh, did act and commit divers other bloody barbarous cruelties (betwixt the time of the beginning of the rebellion, and her escape from imprisonment out of the said county) by burning, drowning, hanging, the sword, starving, and other fearful deaths: That they did drown at one time betwixt Tinon and Kinnard, sixty British women and children; their respective husbands and fathers, and all their male friends that were men, being murdered before: And that they did in the same water, at an other time, drown one Mrs. Marwel, the wife of Mr. James Marwel; when she was in labour, and so forward therein, as some of those bloody actors told and bragged to her, this deponent, that the very child's arm appeared, and waved in the water, the child being half born when the mother was drowned. Jurat. ut supra.

† Henry Brinkhurst, of the county of Mayo, deposeth, that after the massacre of Shreul, one of the rebels that had acted his part there, came into a house with his hands and cloaths all bloody, saying, "it was English blood; that he hoped to have more of it, and that his skein had pinked the clean white skins of many at Shreul, even to the hilt thereof; and that amongst others, it had been in the body of a fair complexion'd man, whose name was Jones." At which time of his discourse, the wife of the said Jones, with four of her small children, sat by, and durst not cry out, but striving to suppress her extreme grief, fell into a swoon, and was conveyed out of the room, for fear he should have done the like by her poor children. Henry Brinkhurst, Jurat. March 11, 1643.

* This particular deposed in the examination of Dr. Maxwell and Mrs. Price.

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these poor innocent christians, when they spared not most fearfully to belch out their rage against their maker. What open * hellish blasphemies were uttered by these wicked miscreants? † with what indignation and reproach did they tear, trample under their feet, the sacred word of god! how despitefully did they upbraid the profession of the truth to those blessed souls, whom neither by threats nor terrors, pains nor torments, they could draw to forsake their religion?

M 4

But

* Margaret Stokes, the wife of Hugh Stokes, duly sworn and examined, deposeth, inter alia, that when the rebels, or any of them, had killed an English man in the country, many others of them would come one after another, and every of them in most cruel manner stab, wound and cut him, and almost mangle him; and to shew their further malice, would not suffer or permit any to bury them, but would have them to lie naked, for the dogs, beasts and fowls of the air to devour them. And further saith, when they had so killed the English, they would reckon up and account the number of them, and in a rejoycing and boasting manner would say, that they had made the devil beholding to them, in sending so many souls to him to hell. Jurat. coram sir Gerrard Lowther.

Edward Dean, of Ocrum, in the county of Wicklow, tanner, deposeth, that the Irish rebels made proclamation, that all English men and women that did not depart the country within twenty-four hours should be hanged, drawn and quartered; and that the Irish houses that kept any of the English children, should be burned. And further saith, that the said rebels burned two protestant bibles, and then said, that it was hell-fire that burnt. Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

† John Kerdis, clerk of the county of Tyrone, deposeth, inter alia, that fryar Malone, of Skerries, did take the poor mens bibles which he found in the boat, and cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire with these words, that he would deal in like manner with all protestant and puritan bibles. Jurat. Feb. 28, 1641.

Henry

But I shall not here touch any further upon those who died thus gloriously; this will be a worthy work for some more able pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a martyrology. If we shall take a survey of the primitive times, and look into the sufferings of the first christians that suffered under the tyranny and cruel persecutions of those heathenish emperors, we shall not certainly find any one kingdom, though of a far larger continent, where there were more christians suffered, or more unparalleled cruelties were acted in many years upon them, than were in Ireland, within the space

Henry Fisher, of Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow, deposeth, that the rebels entered the parish-church at Powerscourt, and burnt up the pews, pulpit, chests and bibles belonging to the said church, with extream violence and triumph, and expressing of hatred to religion. Jurat. Jan. 25, 1641.

Adam Clover, of Slonofy, in the county of Cavan, duly sworn, deposeth, that James O'Rely, Hugh Brady, and other rebels, did often take into their hands the protestant bibles, and wetting them in the dirty water, did five or six times dash the same on the face of this deponent, and other protestants, saying, come, I know you love a good lesson, here is an excellent one for you; come to morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this; and used other scornful and disgraceful words unto them: and further saith, that dragging divers protestants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner, into the church, there stripped, robbed, whipped, and most cruelly used them, saying, if you come to morrow, you shall hear the like sermon. Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

Edward Slack, of Gulteen, in the county of Fermanagh, clerk, deposeth, that the rebels there took his bible, opened it, and laying the open side in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, a plague on it, this bible hath bred all the quarrel; and that they hoped within few weeks all the bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the kingdom. Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

space of the first two months after the breaking out of this rebellion. And howsoever * some by outward inflictions and tortures were drawn to profess the change of their religion, and had presently their reward: for many of those they suddenly dispatched with great scorn, saying, it was fit to send them out of the world in that good mood; † yet I dare say we shall find many thus cruelly put to death, equal to some of those ancient worthies for their patience, constancy, courage, magnanimity in their sufferings, not accepting deliverance, but triumphing and insulting with their last breath, over the insolency, rage and malice of their most inhumane and cruel persecutors.

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We shall find in the roman story, during the several cruel contestations betwixt Marius and Sylla, when their factious followers filled the whole city of Rome with streams of blood, strange and most incomparable passages of friendships;

* Alexander Creighton of Glaslough in the county of Monaghan, gent. deposeth, that he heard it credibly reported among the rebels aforesaid at Glaslough, that Hugh Mac O Degan, a priest, had done a most meritorious act in drawing betwixt forty and fifty English and Scottish in the parish of Ganally, in the county of Fermanagh, to reconciliation with the church of Rome, and after giving them the sacrament, demanded of them whether christ's body was really in the sacrament or no; and they said, yea, and that he demanded further, whether they held the pope to be supream head of the church; they likewise answered, he was: and that thereupon he presently told them, they were in good faith, and for fear they should fall from it, and turn hereticks, he and the rest that were with him cut all their throats. Jurat. March 1, 1641.

† John Glas of Montwath in the queen's county, sworn and examined, saith, that Florence Fitz-Patrick of

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friendships; one exposing himself to all manner of dangers for the preservation of his friend of a contrary faction; servants willingly sacrificing themselves to save the lives of their beloved masters. But here on the contrary, what open violation of all bands of humanity and friendship? no contracts, no promises observed; quarter given in the most solemn manner, with the greatest oaths and severest execrations, under hand and seal, suddenly broken. The Irish landlords making a prey of their English tenants; the Irish servants betraying their English masters; and every one esteeming an act wherein they could declare their hatred and malice most against any of the British nation, as gallant and truly meritorious.

It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody executions were made in the province of Ulster, and there they continued longest

of the said county, esq; having received Mr. John Nicholson and his wife Ann Nicholson, under his protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to mass, or the present rebellion; but they both professed, that rather than they would either forsake their religion, or fight against their countrymen, they would die the death, the husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his wife even shewing greater resolution: they would have had her burn her bible; but her answer was, before she would either burn her bible, or turn against her countrymen, she would die upon the point of the sword; which was made good by them; for on a sabbath-day in the morning before mass, they were cruelly butchered and murdered by the command of the said Florence Fitz-Patrick: the instrument that acted the villany, was one John Harding, who since hath been beyond all expression tormented in his conscience, and with continued apparitions of them (as he conceived) in such manner as he murdered them; so as he is even now consumed away with the horror of it, as is most frequently reported among the rebels. Jurat. April 8, 1642.

longest to execute their rage and cruelty; yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other three provinces did concur with them, as it were with one common consent to destroy and pluck up by the roots all the British planted throughout the kingdom. And for this purpose they went on, not only murdering, stripping and driving out all of them, men, women, and children, but they laid waste their habitations, burnt their evidences, defaced in many places all the monuments of civility and devotion, the courts and places of the English government; nay, as some of themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them either name or posterity in Ireland.

How they proceeded on in this work, or how far they co-operated each with other, will be a task of a large size, and more proper for another place in this story.

I shall here conclude this discourse concerning the cruelties exercised upon the British and protestants, with these following examinations. They are eight in number, two witnesses, as it were taken out of each province, to declare their bloody proceedings: I shall begin with Munster, from whence we have yet very few examinations brought up, the chiefest of them having been most unhappily carried another way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expressing their miseries, to insert their general remonstrance, made upon the conclusion of the late cessation, in the year 1643. The two next ensuing are concerning the province of Connaught; then those of the province of Ulster; and lastly, two examinations taken of some acts of cruelty committed within the province

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vince of Leinster. I have made choice, for the most part of them, of such as have been put in by persons of good quality, of known integrity and credit. They are all upon oath, as all the other examinations concerning cruelties before-mentioned likewise are. I shall leave the several particulars to the consideration of such as shall please to take the pains to read them over. And I may well say of them, in respect of the former cruelties inserted, as was said to the prophet Ezekiel in another case, "Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these."

Ezek. 11.

12.

A general remonstrance of the distressed protestants in the province of Munster.

Here follow
several exa-
minations
taken upon
oath of se-
veral hor-
rid murders
and most
abominable
cruelties
acted
within the
four pro-
vinces.

Setting forth, from the gasping condition of their most sad distressed souls, that whereas the province of Munster, through the vast expence of English treasure and blood; was reduced from the height of barbarism to such a degree of civility, that the power and dignity of the English crown, was much advanced and extended by the surest and noblest bonds of a flourishing people: those of religion, civility and profit: of religion, witnessed, by the enlarged congregations both in cathedral and parochial churches: civility, by the many costly plantations, fair and strong buildings, plentiful markets, and bountiful hospitality: and profit by the free trade and commerce throughout Christendom. Lands fully improved, abounding with herds and flocks of all sorts of the best English cattel, which enabled us to advance great sums to his majesty's customs, contribute large

large subsidies, and to supply the west of England with such a considerable proportion of wool and cattle, that a great part of the trade of those parts subsisted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the English undertakers, in the time of queen Elizabeth, of famous memory; since when few parts of Christendom from their beginning (in so short space) had such a rise and growth; which was not alone to ourselves, but the very natives must confess, that their estates were hugely augmented by our improvements. And therefore let it not be wondred at, that when we consider from what we are fallen, to what we are fallen; if the pain of loss, strive to equal that of sense; and if the depth of our miseries have not sunk our souls to stupidity, we may compare our woes to the saddest parallel of any story. Our temples demolished, or worse, prophaned by sacrifices to idols; our houses and castles become ruinous heaps, our nation extirpated, destroyed: no quality, age, sex, privileged from massacres and lingring death; by being robbed and stripped naked, through cold or famine, passages of a notable piece of clemency and mercy. The famished infants of murdered parents swarm in our streets, and for want of bread perish before our faces; and many of our yet miserable remnant, which lived plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to ask relief, and those they ask of, constrained by want to refuse them; so as undoubtedly our present miseries are not far distant of those of Samaria's siege; and all those cast upon us by this unparallel'd rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure, more and greater immunities and bounties being granted

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ted by his majesty that now is, than ever was by his royal progenitors; for what cause, offence, or least seeming provocation, our souls never imagine (sin excepted) save that we were protestants, and his majesty's loyal subjects, and could not endure their poisonous breaths to belch out such prophaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the sacred fame of our king; and to colour this, we must go under the notorious names of, first, Puritans, and later, of Round-Heads; for particular instances, time would fail, and length weary the reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, that the depopulations in this province of Munster, do well near equal those of the whole kingdom. The particulars whereof, as of the multitude of inhuman cruelties, were collected and reduced to several instances, with ample proof, by the many months endeavours of a reverend divine, one arch-deacon Biss, thereunto authorized by vertue of a commission under the broad-seal of this kingdom; who was most barbarously murdered by the Irish, expressing that to be the cause. And because it may be thought requisite to touch something of the demeanours of the Irish since the cessation, as well as before; many English have been murdered as they travelled, with other expressions of that utter detestation of the English, that if any remain (which few do) nor surely will do, that can but breathe elsewhere; then must they be in a degree worse than any known slavery: and likewise for other parts of the cessation, they have been totally broken, and our quarters, being of large extent, universally taken from us, even to the walls

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walls of our garrisons; wherein we have often called to the chief of them for justice; which being denied (or which is worse) delayed, want of means to justify ourselves, leaves us without remedy. All which we pour forth our griefs and supplications, above, to God alone; and here on earth, to our dread sovereign.

The examination of Anne, the late wife of John Sherring, late of the territory of Ormonde, near the silver-works, in the county of Tipperary, aged about twenty-five years, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith,

THAT about Candlemas was two years, the said John Sherring, her then husband, going from his farm, which he held from John Kenedy, esq; near to the silver-works, one Hugh Kenedy, one of the brothers of the said John Kenedy, a cruel rebel, together with a great multitude of Irish rebellious soldiers, then and there fiercely assaulted and set upon her husband, and upon one William Brock, William Laughlin, Thomas Collop, and eight more English protestant men, and about ten women, and upon some children in their company, and then and there strip'd them of their clothes, and then with stones, pole-axes, skeins, swords, pikes, darts, and other weapons, most barbarously massacred and murdered her husband, and all those protestant men, women and children: in the time of which massacre, a most loud and fearful noise and storm of thunder, lightning, wind, hail-stones and rain began: the time being on a sabbath-day, about an hour

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hour before night, the former part of the day being all very fair, but that thunder, lightning, and tempest, happening suddenly after the massacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this deponent and many others, inasmuch as those murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of God's anger and threatening of them for such their then cruelty; yet it deterred them not, but they persisted in their bloody act, until they had murdered those said English protestants, and had hack'd, hew'd, slash'd, stabbed, and so massacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her husband, for his part, had thirty grievous wounds then and there given him, viz. some through or near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his head, three in his belly, and in either arm four, and the rest in his thighs, legs, back and neck; and that murder done, those barbarous rebels tied wyths about their necks, and drew them out of the refining-mill (where indeed they slew them) and threw them, or most of them, into a deep hole (formerly made) one upon another, so that none of those twenty-three men, women, or children, did escape death. Howbeit, one Tho. Ladell, a Scottish man, and one George Kelsey, who then and there endured, and had many grievous wounds, and being left on the ground for dead, crawled up, (after the rebels were gone away) and with much difficulty escaped with their lives: and further saith, that such was God's judgment upon the said Hugh Kenedy, for that bloody fact, that he presently fell into a most desperate madness and distraction, and could not rest day nor night; yet coveting to do more mischief upon the English,

English, but being prevented, and denied to do it, he about a week after drowned himself in the next river to the silver works, but his barbarous and wicked soldiers went on in their wickedness, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a minister and his wife and four children near the city of Limerick; and this deponent is too well assured, that those, and other Irish rebels in that part of the country, exercised and committed a great number of bloody murders, robberies, and outrages upon the persons and goods of the protestants, so as very few escaped with their lives, and none at all saved their goods. And further saith, that all the popish gentry in the country thereabouts, especially all those of the Septs, and names of the O Brians, and the Coghluins, the Kenedies, were all actors in the present rebellion against his majesty; and either acted, assisted, incited or consented to all the murders, robberies, cruelties, and rebellious acts aforesaid. And she further saith, that by means of the said rebellion, her said husband and she were at Werinwood about Candlemas, 1641, robbed and deprived of their cattle, household-stuff, corn, malt, provision, ready money, debts, the benefit of their lease, and other their goods and chattles, of the value, and to their loss, of one hundred and threescore pounds at the least; and that the said John Kenedy, esq; their landlord, was the man that so deprived and robbed them thereof; and the other rebels strip'd her stark naked. Jurat. Feb. 10, 1643.

Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton.

Anne Sherring.

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The examination of John Goldsmith, parson of Brashoul, in the county of Mayo, sworn and examined, saith,

The province of Conaught.

THAT the lord of Mayo being to convoy all those of Castle-Burre to Galway, viz. fir Henry Bingham with all his company, and the bishop of Killalla, with all his company, with many of the neighbouring English, being about threescore in number, whereof there were some fifteen ministers, covenanted with one Edmund Bourk for the safe convoy of the same parties upon a certain day; and the said lord of Mayo appointed them all to meet him at Belcharagh, having first separated this deponent from them to attend his lady in the work of the ministry. At which day, the titular archbishop and the lord of Mayo meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to Shreul; at which place the lord of Mayo left them in the custody of the said last named Edmund Bourk: but as one Mr. Bringham told the deponent, the lord of Mayo was not gone far from them, but the said Edmund Bourk drew out his sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre those protestants; and accordingly some were shot to death, some stabb'd with skeins, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned, and the women that were stripped naked, lying upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes; and very few of those English then and there escaped alive, but the most part were murdered in the place: amongst the rest, the bishop of Killalla escaped with his life, but was

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was then and there wounded in his head; and one Mr. Crowd, a minister, was then and there so beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after. And this deponent further saith, that in the town of Sligo, forty persons of English and Scottish, were by the rebels striped and locked up in a cellar, and about midnight a butcher, which was sent unto them on purpose, with his axe knocked them on the head, and so then and there murdered them: which butcher coming afterwards to Castle-Burro, did there confess his bloody fact.

In Tirawly, within the county of Down about thirty or forty English (formerly turned papists) had their choice given them, whether they would die by the sword, or drown themselves: they making choice of drowning, were brought to the sea-side by the rebels, who had their skins drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the sea: the mothers, with their children in their arms (crying for drink) having waded to the chin, at length cast or dived themselves and children into the sea, yielding themselves to the mastery of the waves, and so perished.

The torments the rebels would use to the protestants to make them confess their monies, were these, viz. some they would take and writh wryths about their heads, till the blood sprang out of the crown of their heads; others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would let them down; and do the same so often over, until they confessed their monies.

And this deponent further saith, that a young youth of about fifteen years of age, the son of Mr. Montgomery, the minister,

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meeting with a bloody rebel who had been his school-master; this rebel drew his skein, and began furiously to slash and cut him therewith; the boy cried unto him, "Good master, do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will;" nevertheless the then merciless and cruel rebel there most barbarously murdered him.

A Scotch man travelling in the highway, with his wife and children, near ——— were beset by the rebels, who wounded and stabbed him with their pikes, put him alive upon a car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as the poor wife afterwards (with great grief) told him, this deponent.

The vicar of Urras turned papist, and became drummer to captain Bourk, and was afterwards murdered for his pains by the rebels.

Another Scotch man, near Ballehen, was hanged by the rebels.

Jurat. 30 Decembris,

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John Goldsmith.

Henry Jones,

Henry Brereton.

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The examination of Jane, the wife of Thomas Stewart, late of the town and county of Sligo, merchant; sworn and examined before his majesty's commissioners in that behalf authorised: deposeth and saith,

THAT after the present rebellion was begun, viz. about the beginning of December, 1641, her said husband living as a merchant in the town aforesaid, with her, this deponent, as for twenty six years he had done in very good estate and condition; and having continually furnished the inhabitants of that part thereabouts with all sorts of wares and merchandise; and by that course having acquired and gained to himself an estate of good value: He, the said Thomas Stewart, and she, this Deponent, then possessing that estate, were then at Sligo aforesaid, by Andrew Crean, of Sligo, esq; then high-sheriff of that county, Neil O Hart, of Donelly, in the said county, gentleman; Roger O Conner, of Skarden, in the same county, gentleman; Donnel O Conner, of ———, gentleman, brother-in-law to Teige O Conner of Sligo; Richard O Crean, of Tirreragh, gentleman; John O Crean, esq; and a justice of peace, son to the said Andrew Crean; Anthony Screan, of ———, near Ballyshany, gentleman, forcibly deprived, robbed and despoiled of their household-goods, wares, merchandise, specialties, cattle, horses, plate, money, and other goods and cattles, of the value of one thousand two hundred pounds sterling, or thereabouts. Which robbery and outrage was committed in or about the beginning of

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December aforesaid, at the very time of the rebels surprizing, robbing and pillaging of all the English and Scotch of the town of Sligo. In the doing whereof, not only the persons, rebels before-named, but also Teige O Conner Sligo, now of the castle of Sligo, general of the rebels in those parts; James French, of Sligo, aforesaid, esquire, a justice of the peace (a notorious and cruel rebel) Brian O Conner, of Drumcleer, gentleman; captain Charles O Conner, a fryar, and captain Hugh O Conner, all three captains, and brothers to the said Teige O Conner Sligo; captain Patrick Plunket, near Killoony, in the same county, a justice of the peace; captain Phe-
 lim O Conner; captain Teige O Conner, of the Glan; captain Con O Conner, of the same; and divers others, whose names she cannot for the present remember, were most forward and cruel actors: and those rebels having altogether deprived and stripped all the British of all their estates they had, she, this deponent, and her husband, and many other British, were left in that town; and among the rest, there were left there, which she can well remember, viz, William Braxton, the deponent and her husband and six children; James Scot and his son, of the age of four or five years, Sampson Port and his wife, Mary Port and her father (of the age of seventy years, or thereabouts) John Little, Arthur Martin, William Dowlittle, and his wife and children, William Carter, and John Lewes, and Elizabeth his wife, Robert Scyens, Elizabeth Harlow, and one woman that was great with child, and within a month of her time, Habel Beard, who was great with child, and very near her time, and others whom she cannot

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cannot name; which British people (altho^{ugh} they were promised fair quarter, and taken into the protection of the said Teige O Conner Sligo, who promised them a collection) yet they were daily threatened to be murdered, if they would not turn papists in one month the then next after; which, for saving of their lives, they were enforced to do. Notwithstanding which, about the sixth of January, then next following, the said O Conner Sligo (having before called a meeting of his followers and kindred, in the counties of Sligo and Letrim, and considered with them, and with a convent of fryars of the abby of Sligo for three days together, where they sat in council) all the men women, and children of the British that then could be found within the same town (saving this deponent, who was so sick that she could not stir) were summoned to go into the goal, and as many as could be met withal, were carried and put into the goal of Sligo, where about twelve a clock in the night they were stripped stark naked, and after most of them were most cruelly and barbarously murdered with swords, axes, and skeins, and particularly by two butchers, named James Buts and Robert Buts of Sligo, who murdered many of them; wherein also were actors, Charles O Conner, the Fryar, and Hugh O Conner aforesnamed, brother to the said Teige O Connor Sligo, and Teige O Sheile, Kedagh O Hart, labourer, Richard Walsh and Thomas Walsh, the one the jaylor, the other a butcher, and divers others whom she cannot name: and saith, that above thirty of the British which were so put into the goal, were then and there murdered; besides Robert Gumble, then provost of the

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saïd town of Sligo, Edward Newsham and Edward Mercer, who were wounded and left for dead amongst the rest, and Jo. Stewart, this deponent's son, which four being the next day found alive, yet all besmeared with blood, were spared to live. All which particulars the deponent was credibly told by those that so escaped, and by her Irish servants, and others of the town; and saith, that some of the women so murdered being big with child (by their wounds received) the very arms and legs of the children in their wombs appeared, and were thrust out; and one woman, viz. Isabel Beard, being in the house of the friars, and hearing the lamentable cry that was made, ran into the street, and was pursued by one of the friar's men unto the river, where she was barbarously murdered, and found the next day with the child's feet appearing, and thrust out of her wounds in her sides. And further saith, that on the saïd sixth day of January, there were murdered in the streets of the town of Sligo, these British protestants following, viz. William Sheiles and John Sheils, his son, William Mapwel and Robert Akin. And the deponent further saith, (as she was credibly informed by the persons before named) that the inhuman rebels, after their murders committed in the saïd goal, laid and placed some of the dead bodies of the naked murdered men upon the naked bodies of the women, in a most immodest posture, not fit for chaste ears to hear: in which posture they continued to be seen the next morning by those Irish of the town that came into the saïd goal, who were delighted and rejoiced in those bloody murders and uncivil actions: and that they of the Irish that came to bury them, stood up
to

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to the mid-leg in the blood and brains of those that were so murdered, who were carried out, and cast into a pit digged for that purpose, in the garden of Mr. Riccrofts, minister of Sligo. And she further saith, that whereas the river of Sligo was before very plentiful of fish, it did not for a long time after those murders, afford any fish at all: and this deponent saw the friars in their white habits, in great companies in procession, going to sanctify the water, casting therein holy water: she saith also, that the prior of the convent of Sligo, after the murder of the said women in the river, fell frantick, and ran so about the streets, and continued in that frenzy for three or four weeks; and saith, that of her six children, three were starved and died, after her release out of imprisonment, which had been for eighteen months amongst the rebels.

Jurat, 23 Aprilis,
1644.

Signum prædict. VVV.

Henry Jones, Jane Stewart, alias Menize
Henry Brereton.

Captain Anthony Stratford, of Charlemount, in the county of Armagh, Esq; aged three-score years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined before his majesty's commissioners, by virtue of a commission in that behalf, directed under the great seal of Ireland, deposeth and saith,

THAT these protestant ministers following, about the beginning of the present rebellion, were murdered in the counties of

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of Tyrone and Armagh, viz. Mr. John Mathew, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Smith, Mr. Durragh, Mr. Birge, and eight more, whose names this deponent hath forgotten, by the rebels, none of which would the rebels permit to be buried; the names of such as murdered, this examinant knoweth not; his cause of knowledge of the said murders is, that some of his, this deponent's servants, who were among the rebels, did give him the relation, and he verily believeth them; and besides, this deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the rebels themselves, and by some of those protestants that had escaped; and that he, this deponent, was a prisoner among the rebels at Castle-Causfield, near the place of those murderers, where he continued fourteen months. And further saith, that in Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, or near thereunto, the rebels murdered three hundred and sixteen protestants; and between Charlemount and Dungannon, above four hundred that there were murdered and drowned at and in the river by Benburb, the black-water, between the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, two hundred and six protestants; and Patrick Mac-Crew of Dungannon afore-said, murdered thirty-one in one morning; and two young rebels, viz. John Begbrian and Hary, murdered in the said county of Tyrone, one hundred and forty poor women and children that could make no resistance; and that the wife of Brian Kelly of Loghgal, in the county of Armagh (one of the rebels captains) did with her own hands murder forty-five. And this deponent further saith, that one Thomas King, sometimes serjeant to the late lord Causfield's company (which this deponent commanded

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manded) he being inforced to serve under the rebels, and was one of the provost-marshal, gave the deponent a list of every householders name so murdered, and the number of the persons so murdered; which list this deponent durst not keep: at Portadowne there were drowned at several times about three hundred and eight, who were sent away by about forty, or such like numbers at once, with convoys, and there drowned: there was a lough near Loughgall aforesaid, where were drowned above two hundred, of which this deponent was informed by several persons, and particularly by the wife of Dr. Hodges, and two of her sons, who were present and designed for the like end, but by god's mercy that gave them favour in the eyes of some of the rebels, they escaped; and the said Mrs. Hodges and her sons gave the deponent a list of the names of many of those that were so drowned, which the deponent durst not keep; and saith, that the said Dr. Hodges was imployed by sir Phelim O Neil to make powder; but he failing of his undertaking, was first half-hanged, then cut down; and kept prisoner three months, and then murdered with forty-four more within a quarter of a mile of Charlemount aforesaid, they being by Tirlogh O Neil, brother to sir Phelim, sent to Dungannon prisoners, and in the way murdered. This deponent was shewed the pit where they were all cast in.

At a mill-pond in the parish of Killamen in the county of Tyrone, there were drowned in one day 300; and in the same parish there were murdered of English and Scottish 1200, as this deponent was informed by Mr. Birge, the late minister of the said parish, who certified

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tified the same under his hand, which note the deponent durst not keep: the said Mr. Birge was murdered three months after: All which murders were in the first breaking out of the rebellion, but the particular times this deponent cannot remember, neither the persons by whom they were committed. This deponent was credibly informed by the said serjeant, and others of this deponent's servants (who kept company with the rebels, and saw the same) that many young children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the rebels, and that eighteen Scottish infants were hanged on a clothier's tenterhook, and that they murdered a young fat Scottish man, and made candles of his grease; they took another Scottish man and ripped up his belly, that they might come to his small guts, the one end whereof they tied to a tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his body; they then saying, that they would try whether a dog's or a Scotch man's guts were the longer.

Deposed March 9,

1643, before us, Anthony Stratford.

Henry Jones.

Henry Brereton.

The

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The examination of Robert Maxwell, clerk, arch-deacon of Down, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, inter alia.

THAT by command from sir Phelim O Neil, the rebels dragged the deponent's brother, lieutenant James Maxwell, out of his bed, in the rage and height of a burning fever; and lest any of his acquaintance or friends should bury him, they carried him two miles from any church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or said; and thus sir Phelim paid him two hundred and sixty pound which he owed him: and his wife Griffel Maxwell being in child-birth, the child half born and half unborn, they stript stark naked, drove her about an arrows flight to the Black-water, and drowned her: the like they did to another English woman in the same parish, in the beginning of the rebellion, which was little inferior, if not more unnatural and barbarous, than the roasting of Mr. Watson alive, after they had cut a collop out of either buttock. And farther saith, that a Scottish woman was found in the Glinwood lying dead, her belly ripped up, and a living child crawling in her womb cut out of the cawl; and that Mr. Starkey, school-master at Armagh, he a gentleman of good parentage and parts, being upwards of an hundred years of age, they stripped naked, caused two of his daughters, virgins, being likewise naked, to support him under each arm, he being not able to go of himself; and in that posture carried them all three a quarter of a mile, to a turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the lusts of their eyes and the cruelty

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cruelty of their hearts with the self-same objects at the same time. At the siege of Angher, they would not kill any English beast, and then eat it, but they cut collops out of them being alive, letting them there roar till they had no more flesh upon their backs, so that sometimes a beast would live two or three days together in that torment; the like they did at Armagh, when they murdered Hugh Ecklin, esq; they hanged and murdered all his Irish servants which had any way proved faithful or useful to him during this rebellion. And as touching exemplary constancy in religion, this deponent saith, that Henry Cowel, esq; a gallant and well bred gentleman, was murdered because he would not consent to marry a beastly trull, Mary Ny Neil, a near kinswoman of sir Phelim's: he was proffered his life without the blouse, if he would have gone to mass, but he chose rather to die, than to do either. There was made the like proffer of life for going to mass, to Robert Ecklin, a child of eleven or twelve years of age, but he also refused it, saying, "he saw nothing in their religion for which he would change his own." And this deponent further saith, that very many of the British protestants the rebels buried alive, and took great pleasure to hear them speak unto them, as they digged down old ditches upon them; except those whom they thus buried, they buried none of the protestants, neither would permit any that survived to perform that duty for them: and further saith, that the rebels would send their children abroad in great troops, especially near unto Kinnard, armed with long wattles and whips, who would therewith beat dead men's bodies about

about their privy members, until they beat, or rather trashed them off, and then would return in great joy to their parents, who received them for such service as it were in triumph. And further saith, that if any women were found dead lying with their faces downward, they would turn them upon their backs, and in great flocks resort unto them, censuring all parts of their bodies, but especially such as are not fit to be named, which afterwards they abused so many ways, and so filthily, as chaste ears would not endure the very naming thereof.

Many of the protestants the rebels would not kill out-right, but being half dead, would so leave them, entreating for no better favour at their hands two or three days after, but to kill them out-right, which sometimes was granted sometimes denied.

A young youth having his back-bone broken, was found in a field, having like a beast eaten all the grass round about him; the deponent could not learn that they killed him out, but that they removed him to a place of better pasture; so that in those most bloody and execrable wretches, that of the holy ghost is verified, "the very mercy of the wicked is cruelty;" and further saith, that the rebels themselves told him, this deponent, that they murdered nine hundred and fifty four in one morning in the county of Antrim; and that besides them, they supposed that they killed above eleven or twelve hundred more, in that county: they told him likewise, that colonel Bryan O Neil killed about a thousand in the county of Down, besides three hundred killed near Killeleigh, and many hundreds
both

both before and after in both those counties.

At sir Phelim's return from Lisnegarvy, some of the soldiers forced about twenty-four British into a house, where they burned them alive, whose terrible out-cries they desired very much to imitate and express unto others; and saith, that he heard sir Phelim likewise report, that he killed six hundred English at Garvagh in the county of Derry; and that he had left neither man, woman, or child alive in the barony of Munterlong in the county of Tyrone, and betwixt Armagh and the Newry, in the several plantations and lands of Sir Archibald Atcheson, John Hamilton, Esq; the lord Caulfield, and the lord Mount Norris: and saith also, that there were above 2000 of the British murdered for the most part in their own houses, whereof he was informed by a Scots-man, who was in those parts with sir Phelim, and saw their houses filled with their dead bodies. In the Glin wood towards Dromore, there were slaughter'd, as the rebels told the deponent, upwards of twelve thousand in all, who were all killed in their flight to the county of Down: the number of the people drowned at the bridge of Portadown, are diversly reported according as men said among the rebels; this deponent who said as long as any, and had better intelligence than most of the English amongst them, and had best reason to know the truth, saith, there were (by their own report) one hundred and ninety drowned with Mr. Fullerton: at another time they threw one hundred and forty over the said bridge; at another time thirty-six, or thirty-seven, and so continued drowning

ing more or fewer, for seven or eight weeks, so as the fewest which can be supposed there to have perished, must needs be above one thousand, besides as many more drowned betwixt that bridge and the great Lough of Montjoy, besides those who perished by the sword, fire and famine, in Coubrassil, and the English plantations adjacent: which, in regard there escaped not three hundred out of all those quarters, must needs amount to many thousands.

Near unto the deponent's house thirty six persons were carried to the Cure-bridge at one time, and drowned. At another time six and fifty, men, women, and children; all of them being taken out of the deponent's house; and at several other times several other numbers; besides those that were drowned in the black-water at Kinnard. In which town and the parish of Tinon (whereof the deponent was rector) there was drowned, slaughtered and died of famine, and for want of clothes, about six hundred. The deponent might add to these many thousands more; but the diary which he this deponent wrote amongst the rebels being burned, with his house, books and all his papers; he referreth himself to the number in gross, which the rebels themselves have upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged, which notwithstanding will come short of all that have been murder'd in Ireland; there being above one hundred and fifty four thousand now wanting of the British within the very precinct of Ulster.

The numbers of British destroyed within the province of Ulster.

And this deponent further saith, that it was common table-talk amongst the rebels, that the ghost of Mr. William Fullerton,

O

Timothy

1047.

Timothy Jephes, and the most of those who were thrown over Portadown-bridge, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the river, sometimes singing of psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked swords, sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner. The deponent did not believe the same at first, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but saith that divers of the rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell near to the same river, and being daily affrighted with those apparitions, but especially with their horrible screeching, were in conclusion inforced to remove further into the country: their own priests and friars could not deny the truth thereof. But as it was by the deponent objected unto them; they said it was but a cunning slight of the devil to hinder this great work of propagating the catholick Faith, and killing of hereticks; or that it was wrought by witchcraft. The deponent himself lived within thirteen miles of the bridge, and never heard any man so much as doubt of the truth thereof. Howsoever, he obligeth no man's faith, in regard he saw it not with his own eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as morally could be required of such a matter.

And this deponent further saith; that the degenerate Pale-English, were most cruel amongst the British protestants, being beaten from their own lands; and were never satisfied with their blood, until they had in a manner seen the last drop thereof; affrighting sir Phelim O Neil every day with their numbers, and persuading him, that whilst they (meaning the protestants) lived, there would neither be room for them, nor safety
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for him. It was easie to spur on the cowardly and bloody rebel; yet no sooner were the protestants cut off, but contrary to their expectation, the meer Irish took present possession, of their lands and houses; whereas the Pale English much grumbled; and said, sir Phelim had not kept promise with them; howsoever, they were forced to swallow those and many other injuries.

And further saith, that he knew one boy, that dwelt near unto himself, and not exceeding fourteen years of age, who killed at Kinnard, in one night, fifteen able strong men with his skin, they being disarmed and most of their feet in the stocks.

Another not above twelve years of age, killed two women at the siege of Aughermon.

Another that was a woman and tenant to this deponent, killed seven men and women, of her fellow English tenants, in one morning. And it was very usual in all parts, for the rebels children to murder the protestants children; and sometimes with lath-swords, heavy, and well sharpened, they would venture upon people of riper years; cruelties not to be believed, if there were not so many eye-witnesses of them.

Deposeth 22, of August, 1642.

Henry Brereton.

William Aldrich.

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Leinster.

The examination of dame Anne Butler, wife unto sir Thomas Butler of Rathcalin, in the county of Catherlagh, knight; duly sworn, deposeth;

THAT after Walter Bagnal, of Dunlickeny, in the county of Catherlagh, Esq; and Walter Butler, with a great number of men, had in a violent manner entered this deponent's house, they not able to resist, they set strict guard over this deponent, her husband and family, and brought them from their settled dwelling unto Loughlin-bridge, where they kept herself, her husband, and children in restraint for two weeks, and from thence conveyed them with a strict guard to Kilkenny; and there they were brought before the lord Mount Garrot; where Walter Bagnal and James Butler, brother to the lord Mount Garrot, did use all means possible to move the said lord to put this deponent, her husband and family, to death and torture; alledging, that they were rank puritan protestants; and desperately provoking, used these words, saying "there's but one way, we or they," meaning papists and protestants, "must perish." To which malicious provocation the said lord did not hearken. And this deponent further deposeth, that Walter Bagnal, with his rebellious company, apprehended Richard Lake an English protestant, and his servant, with his wife and four children, and one Richard Taylor, of Loughlin-bridge, his wife and children, Samuel Hatter of the same, his wife and children, an English woman called Jone, and her daughter, and was credibly informed by Dorothy Renals,

nals, who had been several times an eye-witness of these lamentable spectacles, that she had seen to the number of five and thirty English going to execution; and that she had seen them when they were executed, their bodies exposed to devouring ravens, and not afforded so much as burial. Another English woman, who was newly delivered of two children in one birth, they violently compelled her in her great pain and sickness, to rise from her child-bed, and took the infant that was left alive, and dashed his brains against the stones, and after threw him into the river of the Barrow: and having a piece of salmon to dinner, Mr. Brian Cavanagh's wife being with her, she, the said Mrs. Cavanagh, refused to eat any part of the salmon; and being demanded the reason, she said she would never eat any fish that came out of the Barrow, because she had seen several infants bodies, and other carcases of the English taken up in the wear.

And this deponent saith, that sir Edward Butler did credibly inform her, that James Butler of Fynhinch had hanged and put to death all the English that were at Goran and Wells, and all thereabouts. And further deposes, that she being in Kilkenny a prisoner in restraint, and having intelligence that some of her own cattle were brought thither by Walter Bagnal, she petitioned (being in great extremity) to the lord of Mount Garrot, to procure her some of her own cattle for her relief; whereupon he recommended her suit to the mayor and corporation of Kilkenny; who concluded, because she and her family were protestants, and would not turn to mass, they should have no relief. Jane Jones, servant

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vant to the deponent, did see the English formerly specified, going to their execution; and, as she conceived, they were about the number of thirty-five; and was told by Elizabeth Homes, that there were forty gone to execution.

Jurat. 7 Septem. 1642.

Anne Butler.

John Watfon.

The examination of Joseph Wheeler of Stancarty in the county of Kilkenny, esq; Elizabeth the relict of lieutenant William Gilbert, of captain Ridgway's company; Rebecca Hill, the relict of Thomas Hill, late lieutenant to the said captain Ridgway; Thomas Lewis, late of Kilkenny, gent. Jonas Wheeler of Stancarty aforesaid, gent. and Patrick Maxwell of the Graige in the same county, gent. sworn and examined, depose and say,

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THAT about Easter 1642, one Ricard Phillips, and five others, who were old garrison soldiers, then under the command of captain Farrel, a captain of his majesty's party, were, by the command of the lord Mount Garrot, at the end of a house in Kilkenny, hanged to death by that cruel and bloody rebel and provost-marshal, Thomas Cantwell of Cantwell-Court, esq; or some of his servants or soldiers in his presence, who would hardly suffer them to say their prayers after they were taken out of the prison before they were put to death; those poor men dying very patiently and resolutely, in the maintenance of the

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the protestant faith; but one of them, because he was an Irish man, was offered his life if he would turn papist, but he chose rather death, which he quickly had with the other five. And further saith, that a little before Christmas 1644. Mr. William Hill of the Abby of ~~Wick~~ in the Queen's County, and the said lieutenant Thomas Hill, his son, coming to Kilkenny, to fetch home Mary Hill, the wife of him the said William Hill, and the said Rebecca; every one of these deponents were then and there sent for by the Lord Mount Garret, and by him committed prisoners to the goal of Kilkenny; where they continued in a dark dungeon bolted for two months, but were offered freedom if they would join with the rebels, and become papists; but they refused: and after the said Lord Mount Garret was gone into Munster with his forces, (which was an example to all the rest of the wicked Irish there to rise into rebellion) one Florence Fitz-Patrick, of Castletowne in the Queen's County, esq; a captain of the rebels, and his soldiers came to Kilkenny, and then and there (without resistance of any) broke open the goal there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into Oflory the said William and Thomas Hill, where they kept them in miserable durance for some time, and then hanged them both; and a poor young girl being sent from the town of Ballinekill to see what was become of them, and the said Florence Fitz-Patrick meeting her, caused her to be half hanged, then let down, and after to be buried quick. And by report of one Jane Grace (that said she was an eye-witness) the rebels threw the dead bodies of the said

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William and Thomas Hill, into a saw-pit, leaving them so far unburied, that their heads and legs lay bare, untill she came and covered them with earth, about a week after. And further saith, that they have credibly heard and believed, that the said Florence Fitz-Patrick having enticed a rich merchant of Mont-wrath to his, the said Fitz-Patrick's house, to bring thither his goods which he promised should be safely protected, and safely re-delivered; he, the said Florence Fitz-Patrick, possessing those goods, afterwards caused the said merchant and his wife to be hanged; and they have credibly heard, that the said Florence Fitz-Patrick also hanged lieutenant Keis and his son, one Hughes a school-master, and divers other protestants. And these deponents further say, that Mr. Edmond Butler, eldest son to the lord Mount Garrot, Edward Butler his second son, captain Garret Blankfield, and divers other rebellious commanders and soldiers, to the number of six or seven hundred horse and foot a little before Michaelmas 1642, marched from Balliragget near to the iron forge of Ballinekill, and there met with lieutenant Gilbert aforementioned ensign, William Alfred the younger, Mr. Thomas Bingham the minister, Robert Graves, Richard Bently, and about sixty more of the English soldiers, both the same parties joined in battle, but the English soldiers, though fighting valiantly, and killing many rebels (and one Walter Butler a captain, among the rest) were at the last so overcome with multitudes of the rebels, that then and there they, the said lieutenant Gilbert, William Alfry, Thomas Bingham, Robert Graves, Richard Bently, and two other English soldiers

diers were absolutely slain, and the heads of those seven carried to Kilkenny by those rebels (their pipes for joy playing before them on horse-back) and on a market-day which happened to be on the next day following, those heads as triumphs of their victories, there brought out and set upon the market-cross, where the rebels, but especially the women there, and amongst the rest Elice Butler, a reputed mother of several bastards, yet the daughter of the said Mount Garrot, stabled, cut and flisht those heads; the said Elice Butler drawing her skein, flisht at the face of the said William Alfry, and hit him on the nose, and those that could but get a blow or stab at those heads, seemed to account themselves happy: and the rebels then and there put a gag in the mouth of the said Thomas Bingham the minister, and laying a leaf of the bible before him, bade him preach, saying his mouth was open and wide enough, and one of those leud virago's that had no weapons, struck one of the heads so with her hand, that the same night her hand grew black and blue, rankled, and she was extremely lame with it a quarter of a year after, and that lameness and the swelling thereof growing to an issue, is like to continue till she die: and another of those women that with great rejoicing went and saw those heads, did quickly after the sight thereof fall into such an astonishment and distraction, that for three or four days after she could not sleep nor rest, but cried out that still she saw those heads before her eyes, which heads being said by the rebels to be the heads of hereticks, were not afforded christian burial, but buried without the city in a cross high-way altogether in a hole;

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hole; the buriers chopping and cutting the heads with their spades as they threw mold upon them. And to make the manner of their burial, and the heads themselves yet more contemptible; the rebels (over the hole where the heads were laid) set up a long rick, whereto they fixed papers, that all may take notice of the place: and after, and from that time, the rebellious roguish boys, took up, and frequently used the oath, 'by the cross of the seven devils heads buried on St. James's-Green.' And further say, that upon the testimony of a roguish boy, that an Englishman that was a master to one Richard Shaw of Kilkenny, had said, he would believe the devil, as soon as the pope; the cruel rebel, the provost marshal Cantwell aforementioned, suddenly took and hanged him up in an apple-tree till he died: and further saith, that one Uncil Grace, and divers other rebels in Kilkenny, broke open the doors of the cathedral church there, and robbed the same church of the chalices, surplices, ornaments, books, records and writings there being; and made gunpowder in St. Patrick's church, and digged the tombs and graves in the churches in Kilkenny, under colour of getting up molds whereon to make gunpowder: and these deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe, that the rebels at Goran took twenty-five protestants, men, women and children, pretending and promising to them a convoy to Dungannon, hanged them dead in the way, in a wood near New-ross, and that the rebels half hanged five more protestants at Balliragget, by the command of the said captain Edward Butler, and the said Thomas Cantwell the marshal, and letting them down again before they were dead, suffered

ferred them somewhat to recover, and then buried them quick: and those deponents Thomas Lewis, Patrick Maxwell, further say, that, as they have been credibly told by Walter Archer of Kilkenny a rebel, a poor Englishman's wife that went out to gather sticks, at a place about two miles from Kilkenny, was taken and hanged up by the rebels: and the deponents Elizabeth Gilbert, Patrick Maxwell, further say, that a poor woman and two children, she being the wife of one Harvey of Balinekill, coming to Kilkenny about Candlemas was twelve month, were then and there assaulted and set upon by the rebellious inhabitants of that city, and hunted, baited, and drawn with dogs, cruelly stabbed with spears, and so miserably used, that one of the children died presently (having the guts plucked out) and the deponent Patrick Maxwell further saith, that there were taken out of Graige by the rebels, and hanged to death, one John Stone and his wife and his son, William Valentine, Robert Pym and his wife, one of their children of a year and half old, and Thomas White a merchant and his wife (who being great with child, had her belly ripped up after she was hanged, so as the child fell out of the cawl alive) Walter Sherly, Mrs. Joan Salter an ancient widow, one John a servant to Stone aforementioned; the rebels that hanged them were Garret Forrestal of Knockive, and Gibbon Forrestal of Tynyhinch, and the eldest son of Richard Barron, alias Fitz-Geraldin of Knockeen aforesaid, and divers others whom she cannot name, all of the county of Caterlagh; which said Robert Pym after he was hanged up twice, proved alive in his grave, and struck his hand upon his breast, saying,
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‘Christ receive my soul,’ and with those words in his mouth was then and there buried quick; and one of those poor protestants at Goran, by name Tristram Robinson, the rebels hanged him twice, thrust him through with darts, but he still continuing alive, and speaking, they buried him quick: and this deponent Jonas Wheeler farther saith, that one English protestant, who was a shepherd, and his wife going from Kilkenny towards Ballidownell, the rebels hanged up the poor old man, and going a little off, his wife perceiving breath in her husband, said unto him, ‘oh joy you are alive yet;’ which when some of the rebels over-hearing, hanged him outright, and dragged him up and down until his bowels fell out, then his wife desired them to hang her too, but they refused. And saith, that this deponent asking the rebels of Kilkenny, how they durst do what they did, considering the king was against them? they answered, that if the king would not hold with them, they could have forty thousand to come to assist them out of France and Spain, and bring ammunition and arms enough, and all things necessary, and fight against the king and the English: and the deponent Elizabeth Gilbert further saith, that she heard one James Eustace, a servant to the rebel, colonel Cullen, say publicly in Mr. Joseph Wheeler’s house in Kilkenny, ‘let the king take heed, for if they (meaning the Irish) had not their own desires, they would bring in a foreign king;’ and one Tristram Dyer, a protestant, was (as his wife told this deponent) murdered in a wood with his own hatchet, and covered with leaves and moss.

Examinations touching the apparitions at Portnedown-bridge, within the province of Ulster.

JAMES SHAW of Market-hill in the county of Armagh, inn-keeper, deposeth, that many of the Irish rebels, in the time of this deponent's restraint, and staying among them, told him very often, and that it was a common report that all those that lived about the bridge of Portnedown, were so affrighted with the cries and noise made there of some spirits or visions for revenge, as that they durst not stay but fled away thence, (so as they protested,) affrighted to Market-hill, saying, they durst not stay nor return thither for fear of those cries and spirits, but took grounds and made creates in or near the parish of Mulla-brack. Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.

Joan, the relict of Gabriel Constable, late of Drumard in the county of Armagh, gentleman, deposeth and saith, that she hath often heard the rebels, Owen O Farren, Patrick O Conellan, and divers others of the rebels at Drumard, earnestly say, protest and tell one another, that the blood of some of those that were knock'd in the heads, and afterwards drowned at Portnedown-bridge, still remained on the bridge, and would not be washed away; and that often there appeared visions or apparitions, sometimes of men, sometimes of women, breast-high above the water, at or near Portnedown, which did most extreemly and fearfully screech and cry out for vengeance against the Irish that had murdered their bodies there; and that their crys and screeches did so terrify the Irish thereabouts, that

that none durst stay, nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the country, and that this was a common report amongst the rebels there, and that it ~~was~~ ^{was} for a truth amongst them, for any thing she could ever observe to the contrary. Jurat. Jan. 1, 1643.

Katherine, the relict of William Coke, late of the county of Armagh, carpenter, sworn and examined, saith, that about the twentieth of December, 1641, a great number of rebels in that county, did most barbarously drown at that time one hundred and eighty protestants, men, women and children in the river, at the bridge of Portnedown; and that about nine days afterwards, she saw a vision or spirit in the shape of a man, as she apprehended, that appeared in that river, in the place of the drowning, bolt upright breast-high, with hands lifted up, and stood in that posture there, until the latter end of lent next following: about which time some of the English army marching in those parts, whereof her husband was one (as he and they confidently affirmed to this deponent) saw the spirit or vision standing upright, and in the posture aforementioned; but after that time, the said spirit or vision vanished, and appeared no more that she knoweth. And she heard, but saw not, that there were other visions and apparitions, and much screeching and strange noise heard in that river at times afterwards. Jurat. Feb. 24, 1643.

Elizabeth, the wife of captain Rice Price, of Armagh, deposeth and saith, that she and other women, whose husbands were murdered, hearing of divers apparitions and visions which were seen near Portnedown-bridge,
since

since the drowning of her children, and the rest of the protestants there, went unto the bridge aforesaid about twilight in the evening; then and there upon a sudden appeared unto them a vision or spirit, assuming the shape of a woman, waste-high upright in the water, naked, with elevated and closed hands; her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes seemed to twinkle, and her skin as white as snow; which spirit seemed to stand straight up in the water, often repeating the word, revenge! revenge! whereat this deponent and the rest being put into a strange amazement and affright, walked from the place. Jurat. Jan. 29, 1642.

Arthur Culm, of Clowoughter, in the county of Cavan, esq; deposeth, that he was credibly informed by some that were present there, that there were thirty women and young children, and seven men flung into the river of Belterbert; and when some of them offered to swim for their lives, they were by the rebels followed in cots, and knocked on the head with poles; the same day they hanged two women at Turbert; and this deponent doth verily believe, that Mulmore O'Rely, the then sheriff, had a hand in the commanding the murder of those said persons, for that he saw him write two notes which he sent to Turbert by Bryan O'Rely, upon whose coming these murders were committed: and those persons who were present, also affirmed, that the bodies of those thirty persons drowned did not appear upon the water till about six weeks after past; as the said Rely came to the town, all the bodies came floating up to the very bridge; those persons were all formerly stayed in the town by his protection, when the

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the rest of their neighbours in the town went away.

Elizabeth Price, wife of Michael Price, of the Newry, deposeth, that sir Con Mac-Gennis suffered his soldiers, the rebels, to kill Mr. Turge, Minister of the Newry, and several other protestants; and he, the said sir Con Mac-Gennis, on his death-bed, was so much affrighted with apprehension that the said Mr. Turge so slain, was still in his presence, as that he commanded no protestant from that time should be slain, but what should be killed in battle; and after his death, sir Con Mac-Gennis, his brother, would have observed his directions, but one John Mac-Gennis, the young lord of Evah and Monk Crely, were earnest to have all the rest of the protestants put to death.

Mr. George Creighton, minister of Virginia, in the county of Cavan, deposeth, among other particulars in his examination, that divers women brought into his house a young woman almost naked, to whom a rogue came upon the way, these women being present, and required her to give him her money or else he would kill her, and so drew his sword; her answer was, "you cannot kill me unless God give you leave, and his will be done:" whereupon the rogue trust three times at her naked body with his drawn sword, and yet never pierced her skin; whereat he being, as it seems, much confounded, went away and left her; and that he saw this woman, and heard this particular related by divers women, who were by and saw what they reported.

Upon the view of these examinations, all taken upon oath, it may easily be conjectured

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ed how fatally the first plot took, how furiously the rebels throughout all parts of the kingdom proceeded on in their barbarous bloody executions, and what were the courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the British and protestants there planted. It is most true that in Munster and Leinster (and yet one would scarce believe it that considers the horrid particulars related in the fore-recited examinations of those two provinces) they were not generally so bloody, neither did they begin their work so early as in the provinces of Ulster and Conaught. The ill success of the enterprise upon the castle of Dublin did cool them for a time, put them to a stand, and caused them to take up new counsels: but when they had once declared themselves, they did in a very few days strip and despoil all the English settled among them, and drove great numbers of them even stark naked to several ports on the sea-side, there to provide themselves passage for England, or otherways most miserably to starve and perish, as many of them did, being inhumanly denied any kind of relief in those towns under the command of the rebels. And here I must not forget to interpose this certain truth, that in all the four provinces the horrid cruelties used towards the British, either in their bloody massacres, or merciless despoiling, stripping, and extirpation of them, were generally acted in most parts of the kingdom before they could gather themselves together, to make any considerable resistance against their fury; and before the State had assembled their forces, or were enabled by the power of his majesty's arms to make any in-

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The cruelty of the Irish in murdering those protestants which remained among them when at any time they received any loss by the English Forces.

roads into the counties possessed by the rebels: a circumstance which totally destroyeth all those vain pretences and fond recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most abominable rebellion. And this is not to be denied, though it be also true, that those British whom they suffered to live among them, either upon condition of change of their religion, out of private interest, or such as they kept in prison, were not put to the sword, until the rebels, in the several encounters they had with his majesty's forces, suffered loss of their men, and so being enraged therewith at their return home after any disaster, they fell furiously to take revenge upon such British, whether men, women, or children, as they held in most miserable captivity with them. How far their madness, fury, and most implacable malice, did, after the manner of brute beasts, transport them towards the destruction of those miserable harmless souls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by several particulars expressed in several examinations. I shall here insert some of them taken upon trust from persons of good quality and credit, who were long prisoners among them.

I find in one part of Dr. Maxwell's examination (which I thought not fit wholly to insert, because it is of great length, and many particulars in it, nothing tending to that purpose for which it is formerly mentioned) that about May 1642, when the Scottish army under the command of general major Monro, had marched down from Garickfergus, taken in the Newry, beaten the Irish out of those parts with the slaughter of many of them; sir Phelim O Neal caused five thousand British,

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tish, whom he detained in Armagh, Tyrone, and other parts of the north, to be most miserably murdered in the space of three days: James Shaw, of Market-hill in the county of Armagh, deposeth and saith, that during the time this deponent was in restraint, and staid among the rebels, he observed and well knew, that the greatest part of the rebels in the county of Armagh went to besiege the castle of Augher, where they were repulsed, and divers of the rebels of the Sept of O Neals slain: in revenge whereof, the grand rebel sir Phelim O Neal gave direction and warrant to one Mulmory Mac-Donel, a most cruel and merciless rebel, to kill all the English and Scottish within the parishes of Mullebrack, Logilly and Kilcluny; whereupon the said rebel did murder twenty-seven Scottish and English protestants within musket-shot of this deponent's own house: and further saith, that in those three parishes there have been before that and since, by killing, drowning, and straving, put to death above one thousand five hundred protestants within the said three parishes.

William Fitz-Gerald a clerk, of Irish birth, dwelling near Armagh, and there residing when this rebellion brake out, deposeth and saith, that all places of the north where sir Phelim O Neal, under the name of general of the catholick army, commanded, were filled with murders of the protestants: and that when at Augher, Lisnagarvy, or any other places the rebels received loss of their men, those that escaped, exercised their cruelty upon the protestants every where at their return: and that about the first of May 1642 when sir Phelim O Neal had notice of the taking of the

Newry by his majesty's forces, he retired that night in all haste to the town of Armagh, and the next day as well the town of Armagh as the cathedral church there, and all the villages and houses in the country round about, together with all provisions were fired by the rebels; and many men, women and children murdered as well in the town as in the country round about.

There is much more to be said on this subject, but I shall forbear to rake further into many other foul circumstances, which would make this rebellion appear far more odious and detestable. I shall now return to take up the publick affairs of state, where I left them in the hands of the lords justices and council, who finding the city to grow daily more and more impestered with strangers, by reason of the resort of great numbers of ill affected persons that daily made repair thereunto; they issued out several other proclamations to prohibit the access of all strangers to the town, and to require such as remained in the city without calling or settled habitation, to depart.

Some troops of horse and regiments of foot raised by the lords justices and council.

Sir Henry Tichborn being dispatched with his regiment of foot to Tredagh as is formerly mentioned, the lords justices took further order for the present raising of other foot companies; as likewise some troops of horse which might serve for the defence of the city of Dublin, now in most imminent danger, by reason of the approaches made by the forces of the rebels. Sir Charles Coote had a commission for a regiment; which he quickly made up out of the poor stript English, who had repaired from divers parts even naked to the town, and upon the engagements of the state

state procured cloaths for them. The lord Lambert to whom a commission also was granted for the raising of another regiment, began also to get some men together. The earl of Ormonde was now arrived in Dublin, and brought up with him his troop consisting of one hundred curassiers compleatly armed: sir Thomas Lucas who had long commanded a troop of horse in the Low-Countries, and captain Armstrong, sometime after, yet very seasonably, came thither: both of them had money impressed, sir Thomas Lucas to compleat his troop already brought out of England, captain Armstrong to raise a new troop; captain Yarnet also arrived soon after at Dublin, he was sent out of England by the lord lieutenant to raise and command his troop, which in a very short time he made up about 100 horse, many persons then living in the town being desirous to put themselves and their horses into that troop: not long after colonel Crawford came over also, and bringing with him letters of recommendation from the Prince Elector then attending his majesty in Scotland, under whom he had formerly the command of a regiment of dragoons in Germany: the lords justices thought fit to give him a regiment which they were then taking order to raise and arm out of such townsmen as were fit to bear arms within the city of Dublin; none were to be admitted into it but protestants, and out of them they made choice not only of the soldiers, but of all the officers belonging to the same. And further for the repressing of the disorders daily appearing within the city, and restraining the ill affections of the papists there inhabiting, they made sir Charles Coote

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 Sir Charles
 Coote made
 governor
 of the city
 of Dublin.

governor of the city, and gave him an allowance of forty shillings per diem for the present. Now while these colonels and captains are bestirring themselves in getting their men together under their several commands, and in training them up to the use of their arms: and the governor of the town taking strict order for constant watches within, and guards without, to restrain the repair of all suspicious and ill-affected persons: I shall in the mean time give an account of the adjournment of the parliament according to the late prorogation made by the lords justices, which some of the ill-affected members of both houses endeavoured to make use of for the raising of further troubles.

The adjournment
 of the parliament.

In the month of August before the rebellion brake out, the parliament was adjourned to the 17th of November next ensuing: now upon the discovery of the late conspiracy for the surprize of his majesty's castle of Dublin, the ordinary place of meeting for both houses of parliament; the lords finding that the fire was begun in the north, and fearing a general revolt of all other parts of the kingdom, resolved as a matter highly tending to the safety and security of the city and castle, to prorogue the parliament, which they did by proclamation then set out, until the 24th of February. But two or three days before such of the lords and commons then in the town were to meet of course in their several houses for declaring the said prorogation, it was generally noised abroad that the putting off the parliament was extremely ill taken by the popish members of both houses. Mr. Burk who was one of the committee lately employed into England, came

came to the lord Dillon of Kilkenny west, and highly complaining of the injury which, he said was done thereby to the whole nation, hindering them from expressing their loyal affections to his majesty, and shewing their desires to quell this dangerous rebellion, and that they had reason to resent it so far, as to complain to the king thereof, as a point of high injustice; his lordship having acquainted the board herewith, Mr. Burk was presently sent for, and he used the same language in effect there, though with much modesty.

Hereupon the lords fell into debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought reasonable in them to condescend to their desires: some were of opinion, that it was fit to disanul the prorogation, and to give them leave to continue the parliament according to the first adjournment made the beginning of August. They urged the very ill condition of the whole kingdom in regard of the northern rebellion, and that those of the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, as well as some other counties in Conaght, had already joined themselves to them; that this prorogation might peradventure so irritate the Pale, and have such an influence into Munster, as might raise them into arms, and so put the whole kingdom into a general combustion. Others of the board voted strongly for the holding of the prorogation according to the time prefixed by the proclamation, grounding their opinion upon these reasons; first, that it would highly trench upon the gravity and wisdom of the board to alter a resolution so solemnly taken up, after a most serious debate, and publickly

The popish party much discontented at it.

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made known throughout the whole kingdom by proclamation; that it would be of most dangerous consequence to bring so great a multitude of people to the city in such dangerous times; that the protestants and well-affected members of both houses were for the most part either destroyed, dispersed, or so shut up as they could not repair to the present meeting, and that therefore the Irish would be superior in number and voices, and so wholly carry all things according to their own humour, that considering the small forces then in the city, such great numbers as might take occasion under colour of coming to the parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent danger and disturbance, and that peradventure they might there find as ill affections as they brought, and so both joining together, they might easily destroy the state with the poor remainders of the English nation in these parts: whereupon the lords thought fit to hold to their prorogation, yet to endeavour so to temper and sweeten it, as those who were most averse, might in some measure rest satisfied therewith. And therefore, after a long debate of all particular circumstances, they came at length to this resolution, that the earl of Ormonde, the master of the rolls, and sir Pierce Crosby, three members of the board, should have a meeting with Mr. Dancy, Mr. Burk, and some others of the most active powerful members of the house of commons, and that they should let them know from the lords, that they have understood of their good affections and desires to do somewhat in the house that might tend towards the suppression of this present rebellion, that they approved

approved extreme well thereof: and that howsoever they could by no means remove absolutely the prorogation, yet that they would descend so far to their satisfaction as to limit it to a shorter time, and that at present they would give them leave to sit one whole day, in case they would immediately fall upon the work of making a clear protestation against the rebels: as also, that they should have liberty, if they pleased, to make choice of some members of their own house to send down to treat with the rebels about laying down of arms: and for their grievances, that their lordships would with all readiness receive them, and presently transmit them over to his majesty for a speedy redress: all this was accordingly performed: the meeting was in the gallery at Cork-house: these of the house of commons seemed at first to be extremely troubled when they found there was no possibility of altering the present prorogation: but upon a further debate, when they came to understand how ready the lords were to yield to their satisfaction, and that the time of the prorogation should be shortened, they seemed to rest indifferently contented, undertook to make the protestation in such full and ample manner as was desired, and that they would fall immediately upon it, and make it the work of the whole day.

Upon the 17th of November, the lords and commons met in parliament, which was held in the usual place of his majesty's castle of Dublin: and for the better security of the place, as well as of the persons of those that were to meet, there was a guard of musketeers appointed to attend during the time of their meeting, but such care taken that they

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they should carry themselves so free from giving any offence, as no manner of umbrage might be taken at their attendance there. The houses were both very thin, there were only in the house of peers some few English lords, three or four lords of the Pale, and some two or three bishops. In the house of commons, they took into their consideration upon their first meeting, the framing of the protestation against the rebels. But those of the popish party spoke so ambiguously, and handled the matter so tenderly, as they could not be drawn to stile them by the name of rebels. So as they sent up unto the lords a very meager cold protestation against them, which being in their house taken into debate, it was strongly contested by the protestant lords that they should be stiled rebels, but that was as stiffly opposed by the others. They therefore fell upon a mean betwixt both, which gave an accommodation, saying, "they had rebel-
liously and traiterously raised arms;" and so both parties being reasonably satisfied, the protestation was drawn up and returned back to the house of commons in this tenour as followeth.

The protestation and declaration of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled.

WHEREAS the happy and peaceable estate of this realm hath been of late, and is still interrupted by sundry persons ill-affected to the peace and tranquillity thereof, who, contrary to their duty and loyalty to his majesty, and against the laws

laws of God, and the fundamental laws of the realm, have traiterously and rebelliously raised arms, have seized upon some of his majesty's forts and castles, and dispossessed many of his majesty's faithful subjects of their houses, lands and goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane outrages, and acts of hostility within this realm.

The said lords and commons, in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right sense of the said disloyal rebellious proceedings and actions of the persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare, that they the said lords and commons, from their hearts, do detest and abhor the said abominable actions, and that they shall and will to their utmost power maintain the rights of his majesty's crown, and government of this realm, and peace and safety thereof, as well against the persons aforesaid, their abettors, adherents, as also against all foreign princes, potentates, and other persons, and attempts whatsoever; and in case the persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid actions, and lay down arms, and become humble suitors to his majesty for grace and mercy, in such convenient time, and in such manner and form as by his majesty, or the chief governor or governours, and council of this realm shall be set down. The said lords and commons do further protest and declare, that they will take up arms, and will, with their lives and fortunes, suppress them, and their attempts, in such a way, as by the authority of the parliament of this kingdom,

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kingdom, with the approbation of his most excellent majesty, or of his majesty's chief governour or governours of this kingdom, shall be thought most effectual.

Copia vera Exam. per

Phil. Mercival.

Clenic. Parliament.

Both houses of parliament sat two days, and the time of the prorogation being shortened unto the 11th of January, the lords made choice of the lord viscount Castle to go into England, to carry over their desires to his majesty, concerning the means they thought fit to be used for the quenching this present rebellion. And besides those instructions formerly mentioned, he had, as I heard, from the popish lords some, more private, which were to negotiate the staying such forces as were intended to be sent out of England for that end.

The houses
of parliament
send to treat
with the
rebels.

Both houses joined together to appoint certain lords and some members of the house of commons to go down to the northern rebels, to understand the cause of their rising in arms: and referred them to the lords justices for their instructions, which accordingly they received, together, with a commission under the great seal. But the rebellion having a far deeper root than was at that time discovered, this commission was of little operation, and the intended treaty soon vanished. The northern rebels were then so puffed up with their late victories over the poor surprised

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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prised, unresisting English in those parts, and had so deeply drenched their hands in the blood of those innocents, as they thought to carry the whole kingdom before them, and therefore would yield to no treaties, but in a most barbarous manner tore the order of parliament, together with the letter sent unto them, and returned a most scornful answer, fully expressing thereby how far they were from any thought of laying down arms, or entertaining any overtures towards an accommodation.

Within a few days after the adjournment of the parliament, the lord Dillon of Castle, accompanied with the lord Taffe, embarked for England, but by a most impetuous storm were driven into Scotland, where they landed and went up to London. At the town of Ware, their papers were seized upon by directions from the parliament of England, and their persons committed unto safe custody. Mr. Thomas Burk went over much about the same time, and certainly upon the same errand: when the unhappy breach began first betwixt the king and the parliament of England, and that his majesty thought fit to retire to York, those two lords found means to make an escape, and all three constantly followed the court, where, in those high distempers that afterwards happened in England, they easily found means to ingratiate themselves, and had the opportunity to do those good offices for their countrymen which brought on the cessation of arms with them in due time.

The lords justices and council by letters bearing date about the 20th of November, gave unto the lord lieutenant a more certain
and

Letters
written to
the lord
lieutenant.

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and full account of the state of the kingdom, than they could any ways do at the first breaking out of the rebellion, and thereby making known the very ill condition of their present affairs, they moved that the supplies of men, money, commanders, and arms, mentioned in their former letters, might be with all speed sent over unto them, and that his lordship would presently repair hither in his own person to undertake the management of the war. About the 10th of the month of November, their lordships received an answer from the lord lieutenant to their former letters of the 25th of October; whereby he gave them to understand, that he had communicated their letters to the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and that by order from their lordships, he had acquainted both houses of parliament with them; that he had also sent to his majesty, still continuing at Edinburgh, in Scotland, to represent the condition of their affairs, and that he understood his majesty had received some advertisements out of the north of Ireland, of the present rebellion there: his lordship also farther let them know, that his majesty had referred the whole business of Ireland to the parliament of England; that they had undertaken the charge and management of the war; that they had declared they should be speedily and vigorously assisted, and had designed for their present supplies the sum of 50000*l*. and had taken order for making of all further provisions necessary for the service as may appear by the order of parliament made there at that time, and transmitted over by the lord lieutenant, together with his said letters unto the lords justices, by whose command

mand it was re-printed at Dublin, November
12, 1641, as here followeth, being intituled,

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An order of the lords and commons in this
present parliament of England, concerning
Ireland.

THE lords and commons in this present
parliament, being advertised of the dan-
gerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by
the treacherous and wicked instigation of
Romish priests and jesuits, for the bloody
massacre and destruction of all protestants liv-
ing there, and other his majesty's loyal sub-
jects of English blood, though of the Romish
religion, being antient inhabitants within se-
veral counties, and parts of that realm, who
have always, in former rebellions, given testi-
mony of their fidelity to this crown: and for
the utter depriving of his royal majesty, and
the crown of England, from the government
of that kingdom (under pretence of setting
up the popish religion) have thereupon taken
into their serious consideration, how those
mischievous attempts might be most speedily,
and effectually prevented, wherein the ho-
nour, safety, and interest of this kingdom,
are most nearly and fully concerned. Where-
fore they do hereby declare, that they do
intend to serve his majesty with their lives
and fortunes, for the suppressing of this
wicked rebellion, in such a way, as shall be
thought most effectual, by the wisdom and
authority of parliament: and thereupon have
ordered and provided for a present supply of
money, and raising the number of six thou-
sand foot, and two thousand horse, to be sent
from England, being the full proportion de-
fired

fired by the lords justices, and his majesty's
 council resident in that kingdom, with a re-
 solution to add such further succours, as the
 necessity of those affairs shall require. They
 have also resolved of providing arms and mu-
 nition, not only for those men, but likewise
 for his majesty's faithful subjects in that king-
 dom, with store of victuals, and other neces-
 saries, as there shall be occasion, and that these
 provisions may more conveniently be trans-
 ported thither, they have appointed three so-
 veral ports of this kingdom, that is to say,
 Bristol, West-Chester, and one other in Cum-
 berland, where the magazines, and store-hou-
 ses shall be kept for the supply of the several
 parts of Ireland. They have likewise resolved
 to be humble mediators to his most excellent
 majesty, for the encouragement of those En-
 glish, or Irish, who shall upon their own
 charges, raise any number of horse, or foot,
 for his service against the rebels, that they
 shall be honourably rewarded with lands of
 inheritance, in Ireland, according to their
 merits. And for the better inducing the re-
 bels to repent of their wicked attempts, they
 do hereby commend it to the lord lieutenant
 of Ireland, or in his absence, to the lord de-
 puty, or lords justices there, according to the
 power of the commission granted them in that
 behalf, to bestow his majesty's gracious par-
 don to all such as within a convenient time
 (to be declared by the lord lieutenant, lord
 deputy, or lords justices, and council of that
 kingdom) shall return to their due obedience,
 the greatest part whereof, they conceive have
 been seduced upon false grounds, by the cum-
 ming and subtle practices of some of the most
 malignant rebels, enemies to this state, and
 to

to the reformed religion; and likewise to bestow such rewards, as shall be thought fit, and published by the said lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or lords justices and council, upon all those who shall arrest the persons, or bring in the heads of such traytors, as shall be personally named in any proclamation published by the state there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his majesty's loving subjects, both in this, and in that kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to God, and his religion, and the great and imminent danger which will involve this whole kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable treason be not timely suppressed; and therefore with all readiness, bounty, and chearfulness to confer their assistance in their persons, or estates, to this so important and necessary a service for the common good of all.

Jo. Brown, cleric. parliament.

About the same time the lord lieutenant finding that he could not procure so speedy a dispatch of all things necessary for the service of Ireland, as would enable him presently to repair thither in his own person; made the earl of Ormonde lieutenant general of the forces there, and sent him over a commission for the same. And the said earl did within few days after receive a letter from his majesty out of Scotland, wherein he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his pleasure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewise brought over the sum of 20000*l*. from the parliament; the coin which arrived here was all in Spanish pieces of eight which went for four pence in a piece here more than

Commission granted to the earl of Ormonde, to be lieutenant-general of the forces in Ireland.

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in England; and this gain the parliament was content the merchants that undertook the transportations should make at that time in regard of the charge and venture they undertook to stand to: it arrived most seasonably, even when all that little money they had was quite spent in raising and paying the new companies, and that they were wholly destitute of all means to draw in any contributions towards the relieving of their present necessities.

Commis-
sions issued
out for the
examination
upon
oath of the
losses of the
British, and
the cruelties
exercised by the
Irish upon
them.

There continued daily to repair unto the city of Dublin, a great number of poor distressed English, who had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their goods and substance, by the rebels. Now that it might appear what their losses were, what cruelties were acted, what murders committed, and who were the chief actors in them throughout the several provinces: the lords justices and council thought fit to issue out a commission under the great seal, directed to certain of the clergy to take upon oath the several examinations of all such persons, that having suffered by this present rebellion would think fit to repair unto them, as will appear by the commission itself, a copy whereof I have thought fit to insert.

CHARLES by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our well-beloved Henry Jones, dean of Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watfon, clerks, greeting; whereas divers wicked and disloyal people, have lately risen in arms in several parts of this kingdom; and have robbed and spoiled many of our good subjects,

subjects, British and protestants, who have been separated from their several habitations, and scattered in most lamentable manner: and for as much as it is needful to take due examination concerning the same; know ye that we reposing special trust and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our commissioners, and do hereby give unto you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time, to call before you and examine upon oath on the holy evangelists (which hereby we authorize you or any two or more of you to administer) as well all such persons as have been robbed and despoiled, as all the witnesses that can give testimony therein, what robberies and spoils have been committed on them since the 22d of October last, or shall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them: what the particulars were or are, whereof they were or shall be so robbed or spoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where they now or last dwelt that committed those robberies, or what day or night the said robberies or spoils committed, or to be committed, were done: what traitorous or disloyal words, speeches, or actions were then or at any other time uttered or committed by those robbers or any of them, and how often, and all other circumstances concerning the said particulars and every of them: and you our said commissioners are to reduce to writing all the examinations which you, or any two or more of you, shall take as aforesaid: and the same to return to our justices and council of this our realm of Ireland, under the hands and seals of any two or more of you as aforesaid.

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faid. Witnefs our right trusty and well beloved counsellors, sir William Parsons, knight and baronet, and sir John Borlace, knight, our justices of our said realm of Ireland: Dublin 23d of December, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

Carleton.

The commissioners above nominated, did very seriously address themselves to this work, employing their pains therein with great diligence and faithfulness; and have so well performed the charge imposed upon them as that by several examinations, many principal gentlemen of good estates were discovered to be the chief actors in the depredations of the British, and to have committed many most horrid murders and other notorious cruelties which through their industry will now remain upon record, but had otherways been concealed from posterity, and wrapt up in oblivion. The like commissions were in a short time after sent into Munster and Ulster: in the province of Munster, the commissioners took great care in the execution of it, many examinations of high concernment were taken by virtue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed, and not returned up according as is required by the said commissions.

A weekly
fast ap-
pointed.

Towards the latter end of November, the lords justices and council considering the miserable desolations brought upon the whole kingdom, and the further calamities threatened by war and famine, did by a proclamation set forth in print, give strict charge and command, that upon every Friday a public and religious fast should be devoutly and piously observed, in and through the whole city and suburbs

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suburbs of Dublin, by all his Majesty's people therein; and that divine service and sermons be celebrated and heard upon the said day weekly, in every cathedral, and other church and chappel in the said city and suburbs thereof: and this to be performed as is expressed in the said proclamation, to the end that the severe wrath and indignation of almighty God may be averted from this kingdom, his divine aid and assistance implored, and that some relief in these calamitous times, may the better be afforded, to such miserable persons as these traytors, by their rapine and cruelty, have deprived of their fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished up to this city.

The approach of the rebels to Tredagh.

The lords justices and council being advertised of the near approach of the rebels to Tredagh, prepared to send down supplies both of men and munition, for the re-inforcement of that garrison: there were already designed six hundred foot and a troop of horse for that service, and they were almost in a readiness to march, when an express from sir Henry Tichbourn came up to the earl of Ormonde, to let him know the rebels had that day, being the 21st of November, appeared within sight of the town. He conceived they would presently have set down before it, but they advanced no further that day, only while their forces made a stand there, they sent down a party of thirteen hundred foot to Millifond, the lord Moore's house, which their design was suddenly to surprise; but contrary to their expectation, they found there twenty four musketiers and fifteen horsemen, who very stoutly defended the house as long as their powder lasted. The horsemen when they saw themselves beset so as they could be no further ser-

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viceable to the place, opened the gate, issued out and made their passage thorough the midst of the rebels, and so, notwithstanding the opposition they made, escaped safe to Tredagh. The foot having refused to accept of the quarter at the first offered, resolved to make good the place to the last man; they endured several assaults, slew a hundred and forty of the rebels, before their powder failed them: and at last they gave up the place upon promise of quarter, which was not kept, for some of them were killed in cold blood, all were stripped, and two old decrepid men slain, the house ransacked, and all the goods carried away.

Supplies
both of
horse and
foot sent for
the relief of
Tredagh.

Upon the receipt of sir Henry Tichbourn's letter, the lords presently took order for the marching away of the six hundred men, together with a troop of horse towards Tredagh: they left not the town till the 27th of November, and such was the negligence of the captains and disorders of the soldiers, as notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no further that night than Swords, a village six miles distant from Dublin: the command of the foot was committed to serjeant major Roper, and of the horse to sir Patrick Weames, who was appointed with fifty of the earl of Ormonde's troop to march with those six companies to Tredagh. The very day of their departure from Dublin, there was an advertisement brought unto the lords, that some forces of the rebels were drawn on this side the river of the Boyne, and attended with design to intercept their passage: whereupon the earl of Ormonde by direction from the lords, dispatched

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ed an exprefs to give them now upon their march notice thereof, and after to pafs on to fir Henry Tichbourn, to let him know as much ; and that the recruits defigned for the re-inforcement of his garifon being now upon their march, it highly imported him to take fpecial care for the fecuring of their paffage. And next day his lordfhip received an answer from him of that letter, with affurance that he would not fail to march out with competent forces to meet them upon the way, which he did that very day accordingly perform, but they marching no further than Balrudry, and fo lying that night eight miles fhort of Tredagh, he miffed of them, and fo went not out (by what accident or upon what reason I know not) the day following till the news of the defeat met him at the very gate of the town where he flood with his men in a readinefs to march towards them : the men being altogether untrained and unaccuftomed to travel, and failing of provifions by the way, which for their money they could not by any means procure from the country people as they marched along, were very much difcontented, and being fomewhat tired with their journey, went on next day, but in much diforder, fo carelefs, and fo little apprehenfive of any danger, as fome had arms, but no munition about them ; others for their own eafe committed the carriage of both to the carts. As they paffed through Gormanftone, the major went in to give a vifit to the lord of Gormanftone, who told him that there were fome numbers of men lay in the way with an intent to interrupt their paffage. And this his lordfhip knew very well, for the very night before (as

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The defeat of the forces sent for the relief of Tre-dagh.

Mr. Creighton affirms in his examination) one of his grooms went to Slaine where the rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their beds to be in a readiness to come and encounter the English forces now upon their march. The major had likewise other advertisements to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his captains therewith, as some of them afterwards affirmed; he only caused three scouts out of the troop to be sent abroad to make discovery whether the passages were clear; two of them returned back a little before he came to the bridge of Julian's town, assuring him all was clear; the other went on to a house within one quarter of a mile of the place where the rebels lay, and while he attended there for his breakfast, a boy belonging to the house, took his horse, and riding to the rebels gave them notice of the near approach of our forces: the horse passed the bridge, and the foot following, turned up into a field on the left-hand of the lane, where, by reason of a great mist that suddenly fell, they discovered not the rebels, till they were almost within musket-shot of them. The major drew his men presently into battalia, but the horse (as some of the foot that escaped affirm) wheeled about without charging any part of the rebels forces, who now furiously approached with a great shout; and a lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of counter-march, all the men possessed as it were with a pannick fear, began somewhat confusedly to march back, but were so much amazed with a second shout given by the rebels (who seeing them in disorder followed close on) as notwithstanding they had gotten into a ground

ground of great advantage, they could not be persuaded to stand a charge, but betook themselves to their heels, and so the rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is upon the execution.

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Sir Patrick Weames, without the loss of one horse, passed on safely unto Tredagh: the major with two of the captains: and about a hundred of their men, made an escape thither likewise: the other three captains, with all the rest of the soldiers that were English, were there cut off; they spared very few or none that fell into their hands, but such as were Irish, whose lives they preserved: the arms of the whole six hundred they possessed themselves of, as likewise of all their munition and carriages: and so highly were the rebels encouraged with this defeat given to his majesty's forces, as the whole Pale began presently to waver; they thought the kingdom their own, and that the English would in all parts fall before them, as those poor ill conducted sheep had unhappily done. And this is a true relation (as near as I could collect it from the mouths of those that were present) of that famous victory so much boasted of by the Irish, whereupon the inexperience of the English commanders, and the disorders of the common soldiers, who were then but newly taken up, and had never seen any service, contributed far more than any skill or courage shewed by the rebels, which they had only opportunity at that time to express by a loud shout. Besides, they were treble their number, and had for their leaders, Roger Moore, Hugh Birne, and Philip O'Rely; the two last persons, who had been trained in
the

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the wars abroad under the Spanish discipline, and were of greatest experience among them; they brought down a great part of those forces out of the counties of Cavan and Monaghan; and as soon as they came within the river of Boyne, great numbers of the ordinary churles of the Pale adjoyned themselves unto their men, and so made up a body sufficient to perform that service.

The news of this unhappy defeat was brought the very same day, being Monday the 29th of November at evening, to the lords justices as they sat in council: it troubled them very much; and, as it was a matter of great rejoicing among the popish inhabitants of the city, so it bred a general sorrow and consternation among the English and protestants: it happened in a very ill season, the late made colonels were but then in raising of their men: and such companies as were compleated, were by the lords the same day of the marching of the six hundred men to Tredagh, commanded out under Sir Charles Coote, into the county of Wicklow, for the repressing of the insolencies of the Birns and the Tools towards the poor English, whom they began to fall upon most furiously, stripping, murdering, and driving them all out of that territory as soon as they had taken in the king's fort, in that county, called Carew's fort, and possessed themselves of the chief places of strength belonging to the English gentlemen there: he marched to the town of Wicklow, where he caused some few men and one woman to be executed, they being found, upon examination, guilty of the late spoils committed most barbarously upon the English there; and the very clothes of an
English

Sir Charles
Coote's ex-
pedition
into the
county of
Wicklow.

English woman that was stripped, being found upon the back of that Irish woman that was there hanged. In his return, Luke Toole, with near a thousand Irish under his command, encountered him, but he quickly made them fly, and take to the next bog, with the loss of some few of their men: and so he returned with all possible speed to Dublin, the lords having sent him notice of the late defeat given to the forces sent to Tredagh: as soon as he arrived, he applied himself very carefully to the securing of the town, which now began to be more desperately threatened than ever, by the near approaches of the rebels: and so great were the disorders then in the city, so inconsiderable the forces raised, the English inhabitants so strangely dismayed, the papists so highly raised in spirit and courage, as had the commanders of the rebels drawn those forces together as they had in readiness on both sides the river of Boyne for the siege of Tredagh, and so marching up to Dublin, had taken the advantage of the present distractions, and forward affections which they would have undoubtedly found there to assist them, they had in all human probability made themselves masters of the city, and might so straitly have begirt the castle, as would within a very short time have endangered the surrender of it; but it pleased God to infatuate their counsels: the strong opinion they had that they should presently carry Tredagh, and so possess themselves of all the arms and munition they had in that town, caused them to fix their resolutions there, and to set up their rest upon the obtaining that place. In this, as in many other wonderful acts of Divine Providence which I then observed

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The defection of the lords and chief gentlemen within the English Pale.

served with great admiration, it pleased God to appear even miraculously in the preservation of the city and castle of Dublin, with the poor remainders of English and protestants, who had there taken sanctuary.

And now the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, thought it high time to discover themselves and their affections to the cause: they certainly had not only long entertained a defection in their thoughts, but were, as the several forementioned examinations testify, the first contrivers and bringers in of the northern rebels into this execrable plot; they had now likewise drawn them into the Pale, and therefore they could not now hope much longer to walk under a mask, and entertain the state with further professions of their loyalty: they had gotten a competent proportion of arms and munition out of his majesty's store into their own possession: they saw now the northern rebels advanced within the river of Boyne, with very considerable forces to strengthen their party, and by the late encounter and successful victory they had therein, they pleased their fancies with confident conceits of certain prevailing, if they would now declare themselves by a publick conjunction in the common cause, and raising such numbers of men and quantities of provision, as the plentiful circuit of the Pale did afford, would prosecute the war so happily begun, and so successfully managed hitherto.

These, and several other considerations, working very powerfully among the lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, they did, within very few days after the late defeat, solemnly proceed on to the actual consummation of their long meditated revolt. For the manner,

manner, place, time, and all other circumstances, I shall refer the reader to this ensuing relation, given in upon oath, March 1641, before sir Robert Meredith, knight, chancellor of the exchequer, in the examination of Edward Dowdall, esq; a gentleman of the Pale, one very well esteemed among them, one that was present at all their meetings, and deeply engaged in all their counsels and actions.

1641.

He deposeth, that some four or five days after the defeat of the English soldiers at the bridge of Gellianstown, there issued a warrant from the lord of Gormanstone, to the sheriff of the county, for a general meeting of all the county at Dulick. But the place of meeting was afterwards changed to the hill of Crofty, where all the lords and gentry of the country met, viz. the earl of Fingale, the lord viscount Gormanstone, the lord of Slaine, the lord of Lowth, the lord of Dunsany, the lord of Trimblestone, the lord Netterville. And of the gentry, sir Patrick Barnwall, Sir Christopher Bellow, Patrick Barnwall of Kilbrew, Nicholas Darcy of Plattin, James Bath of Acharn, Garret Ailmer the lawyer, Cusack of Gormanstone, William Malone of Lefmullin, Sedgrave of Kileglan, Linch of the Knos, Lynam of Adamstown, Laurence Dowdal of Athlumney, Nicholas Dowdal of Brownston, this examine's brother, and him this examine, with a multitude of others, to the number of a thousand persons at the least, whose names he, this examine, cannot for the present call to mind. And after about two or three hours spent upon the said hill of Crofty, by the lords and gentry aforesaid, there came towards them, colonel Mohowne,

The manner of the conjunction of the lords and chief gentlemen of the English Pale with the northern rebels, expressed in the examination of Edward Dowdall, esq;

1641.

Some of
the leaders
among the
northern
rebels, who
first joined
those of
the Pale.

Mohowne, Philip O Rely, Hugh Boy-Rely, Roger Moore, Hugh Birne, and captain Fox, attended on with a guard of musketers: and this examine faith, that as soon as the parties drew near unto the said hill, the lords and gentry of the Pale rode towards them, and the lord of Gormanstone, being one of the first, spake unto them, and demanded of them, why, and for what reason, they came armed into the Pale? unto which Roger Moore made present answer, that the ground of their coming thither, and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his majesty's prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the subjects in this kingdom as free as those in England were; whereupon the said lord of Gormanstone desired to understand from them truly and faithfully, whether those were not pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing; and likewise whether they had not some other private ends of their own? which being by all denied, upon profession of their sincerity, his lordship, the lord of Gormanstone then told them: seeing these be your true ends, we will likewise join with you therein; unto which course all agreed. And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared, that whosoever should deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an enemy, and to the utmost of their power labour his destruction. And this examine faith, that after the agreement so made as aforesaid, there issued another warrant to the sheriff of the county of Meath, to summon all the lords and gentry of

of the county of Meath, to be at the hill of Taragh, about a week after; and accordingly there met at the same place the earl of Fingale, the lord of Gormanstone, and the rest of the lords and gentlemen aforementioned, together with sir Thomas Nugent, and Nicholas Plunket the lawyer, Birford the lawyer, and a multitude of others; and the work of that day was first to make answer to a summons made by the state for calling of the lords unto Dublin; which answer was brought ready drawn by the lord of Gormanstone, and presented by his lordship, and being perused by the said council at law, was signed by the lords.

In this manner was this great transaction most solemnly consummated betwixt Leinster, and Ulster; Valence and Brabant, as sir Phelim O Neale styles them in his characteristical letter before mentioned, sent to Owen Roe O Neale in Flanders, were now publicly united together in that great assembly. The lord viscount Gormanstone, on the one side, and Roger Moore on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this most important work to the form it now received, they had at length brought it unto perfection, they two had the glory of it, and appeared the great public instruments of this powerful union.

The lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, having thus far declared themselves, became so high and presuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the state at Dublin. They now wholly applied their endeavours to make such preparatives towards the war, as might strengthen their party, which as it now stood in conjunction with

The endeavours of those of the Pale to strengthen their party against the power of the state.

1641.

with the northern rebels, they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be resisted by the inconsiderable forces drawn together by the lords justices and council at Dublin: several gentlemen who in the several counties of the Pale were made captains, and had received arms from the state for their companies, departed from their obedience, and addressed themselves and their companies wholly to the service of the rebels. Nicholas White, Esq; son and heir to sir Nicholas White, of Liffip, was the first that gave the example about the 2d of December: but he carried the matter so handsomely, as his company ran away to the rebels, as he pretended, without his consent, or even his knowledge, any longer time before their departure, than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the state therewith, and his own disability to hinder the same: but before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone with their arms and munition to the rebels; many of the other captains desired no such fine cover for their intentions, but delivered themselves and their arms up to be disposed as they should direct without any further scruple or compliment to the state: wheupon the lords finding how notoriously they were abused by the very great confidence reposed in such gentlemen of the pale, as being made captains, had received arms from them, and perceiving what course they began now to steer, and how they were resolved to employ their own arms against them, they took such order, and with such celerity and diligence made stay of several of those arms, which were delivered out for the use of the pale, as of the one thousand seven hundred

dred arms distributed among the several counties thereof, they recovered again into their hands nine hundred and fifty.

And now by reason the northern rebels had settled their camp within the river of Boyne, and so lay betwixt Predagh and the city of Dublin, all intercourse in the pale was interrupted, the passages stopp'd up, and the lords justices and council understood very little or nothing of any proceedings held there. They therefore finding their dangers daily to increase through the near approach of the rebels unto the city of Dublin, the continual affronts, and new scorns the state daily received from them, their own want of strength to repress their bold attempts; or to preserve the poor English round about them out of their bloody hands, resolved now in these their high extremities, to try the effects of those large protestations and great professions of loyalty the lords of the pale had lately made unto them, and to give them a fair opportunity of rendering a most acceptable service to his majesty and the state here. For this end therefore they determined to call a grand council of all the lords which resided within any convenient distance of the city of Dublin, clearly and freely to represent unto them the ill condition of their affairs, and how highly it import'd them in respect of their own particular safety, as well as for the preservation of the whole kingdom, not only to contribute their best advice and council, but even all the forces they could any ways raise, towards the beating of the northern rebels out of the pale. Several letters of summons were accordingly writ and sent away to the earl of Fingale, the lord viscount Gormanstone,

The reasons why the state summoned the grand council of all the lords of the pale, and others then in the city of Dublin.

R

and

1641.

and the rest of the lords of the pale : the honour of them here ensueth.

A copy of
the letter
written by
the Lords
Justices and
Council to
the Lords
of the Pale.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship ; for as much as we have present occasion to confer with you, concerning the present estate of the kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger : we pray and require your lordship to be with us here on the eighth day of this month, at which time others of the peers are also to be here : and this being to no other end, we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin the 3d of December, 1641.

Your very loving friends,

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| To our very good lord | William Parsons, |
| George earl of Kildare. | John Borlace, |
| | Ormond Offory, |
| | Ant. Medensis, |
| | Robert Dillon, |
| | Adam Loftus, |
| | George Shirly, |
| | John Temple, |
| | Robert Meredith, |

The like letters *eodem die*, to these several persons following.

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Earl of Ormonde, | Lord Trimbleston, |
| Earl of Antrim, | Lord Dunfany, |
| Earl of Fingale, | Lord Slaine, |
| Vif. Gormanstone, | Lord of Howth, |
| Vif. Netterville, | Lord Lowth, |
| Vif. Fitzwilliam, | Lord Lambert. |

These

These letters were presently sent away: but the lords of the pale being otherways engaged, and having before, or much about the time they came unto their hands (though the lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it) made that public combination with the Ulster rebels before mentioned, durst no more adventure their persons within the city of Dublin: but after their meeting at the hill of Crofty, appointed another meeting at the hill of Tarah, and from thence they sent an answer unto the lords, which as Mr. Dowdall testifies, was brought thither by the lord of Gormanstone ready drawn up, and there only signed and so sent away. The copy of the letter here followeth:

1641.

May it please your lordships,

WE have received your letters of the 3d of this instant, intimating that you had present occasions to confer with us, concerning the present state of the kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth day of this instant; we give your lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented ourselves before your lordships, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cause to conceive that our loyalty was suspected by you. We give your lordships further to understand, that we have received certain advertisement, that sir Charles Coot, knight, at the council board, hath uttered some speeches tending to a purpose and resolution, to execute upon those of our religion a general massacre, by which we are all deterred to

The answer
of the Lords
of the Pale
to the Lords
Justices.

1641.

wait on your lordships, not having any security for our safety from these threatened evils, or the safety of our lives ; but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best guard until we hear from your lordships how we shall be secured from these perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful advisers, and resolute furtherers of his majesty's service concerning the present state of the kingdom, and the safety thereof, to our best abilities : and so with the said tender of our humble service, we remain,

Your lordships humble servants,

To the right
honourable our
very good the
lords justices and
council of Ireland.

Fingale, Gormanstone,
Slaine, Dunsany, Net-
terville, Oliver, Lowth,
Trimblestone.

Dublin, Decemb. 7. Received 11, 1641.

A procla-
mation is-
sued out by
the lords
justices and
council for
the satis-
faction of
the lords
of the Pale.

In answer to this letter, the lords justices and council, out of their unfeigned desires to give unto those lords all due satisfaction, and to remove those jealousies and great misunderstandings now grown up between them, thought fit by way of proclamation to publish and declare to them and all others of his majesty's good subjects of the Romish religion, that they never heard sir Charles Coet, or any other utter at the board or elsewhere, any such speeches tending to a purpose or resolution to execute upon those of their profession, or upon any other, a general massacre or any massacre at all; and that they never intended so to dishonour his majesty and this state, or wound

wound their own consciences, as to entertain the least thought of acting so odious, impious and detestable a thing upon any persons whatsoever: and that if any proof can be made of any such words spoken by any person whatsoever, he shall be severely punished. And therefore that they did pray and require the said noblemen to attend them at the board, on the seventeenth day of December, that they might confer with them: and for the security of their repair unto them, they did thereby give to all and every of those noblemen, the word and assurance of the state, that they might then securely and safely come unto them without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever, from them who neither had nor have any intention to wrong or hurt them.

But now it began to appear unto the lords justices and council, how far they were engaged with the northern rebels. By the examinations taken of some English, who made their escape out of those parts; the news of their solemn contract and association before mentioned, was brought up to Dublin: and they then well enough discerned the main obstruction in their coming, the cause of their tergiversations, and what good reason they had to find out excuses to palliate their disloyalty. They then expected no other fruits of their proclamation than what it produced: neither indeed had it any other effect and operation among them, than that they did with great boldness and confidence, by way of answer thereunto, write back a letter to the lords justices, wherein they pretend themselves so justly affrighted with sir Charles Coot's severity and deportment, as that they dare not adventure themselves within the confines of

1641.
Several pretences of the lords of the Pale to colour their refusal to repair to the lords justices and council.

1641.

his government: they heavily impose upon him the inhumane acts, as they term them, perpetrated in the county of Wicklow, the massacre of Santry, and the burning of Mr. King's house and his whole substance at Clantarf; and with a little kind of cunning, they seem to pretend a breach of the publick faith, but would transfer the blame from the lords justices to sir Charles Coot; and thereupon desire no sinister construction may be made of their stay, and that they may have some commissioners appointed to confer with them; and so conclude with some professions of their loyalty and readiness to give their advices for the advancement of his majesty's service, and the common peace of the kingdom.

The great indulgence used by the lords justices and council towards the lords of the Pale.

This was an answer, such as might justly be expected to come from persons so deeply now involved in the guilt of so high a rebellion. It is no wonder that they were thus put to their shifts, and enforced to take up such fond excuses, and imaginary pretences for their disloyalty: for they could not in their own consciences, but be most sensible of the very great indulgence used by the lords towards them: they had not failed in several particulars to manifest the great confidence they had in their good affections: they had refrained from giving them any manner of provocation or jealousy. They had foreborn the doing some acts of hostility for a time upon some rebels among them, because they would not give them any the least cause of complaint. And however it appeared by the examination of Macmahon and several others, that they were privy to the first plot; yet the lords proceeded with so much caution and tenderness towards them, hoping that now the

1641.

the conspirators had failed in the main part of their design, which was the surprisal of the castle of Dublin, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, and draw them into a just concurrence with them for the preservation of the kingdom out of the hands of those bloody northern rebels, who in the beginning were the only appearers in the cause: but all was to no purpose, they were too deeply engaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief gentlemen likewise of the pale with them.

And now it shall be declared, how the chief gentlemen of the pale began and proceeded on to act their parts: about the beginning of December, presently after the late defeat given to the English soldiers in their march to Tredagh, Luke Neterville second son to the lord viscount Neterville, caused a proclamation to be made in the market-place of Lusk, requiring all the chief gentlemen and other inhabitants thereabouts, not to fail upon pain of death presently to repair unto Swords, a town within six miles of the city of Dublin. And within few days after, did meet there the said Luke Neterville, Geo. Blackney, Esq; Geo. King, Joh. Talbot, Rich. Golding, Tho. Russel; Christopher Russel, Patrick Caddel, Will. Travers, Rich. Barnwell, Lawrence Bealing, Holy-wood of Artaine, and several other gentlemen, who began to gather great numbers of men about them; and putting such arms into their hands as they had in readiness, at the present made their provisions to entertain a settled camp within that place. The lords understanding of this unlawful tumultuous assembly, and deeply apprehending the mischievous consequences that might ensue there-

Luke Neterville and others of the chief gentlemen of the pale, gather forces and quarter them within six miles of the city of Dublin.

1641.

upon, sent this warrant following in a fair manner, requiring thereby their present repair unto to them.

By the lords justices and council.

William Parsons. John Borlace.

The gentlemen of the pale required by the lords justices and council to repair to Dublin.

WHereas we have received information, that Luke Neterville, esq: Blackney of Rickenhore, esq; and George King of Clantarse, gentlemen; and other gentlemen of the county of Dublin, with great numbers of men are assembled together in a body at Swords and thereabouts, within six miles of this city, for what intent we know not, but apparently to the terror of his majesty's good subjects; and although, considering the unseasonableness of this time chosen for such an act without our privity (whatsoever their pretence is) a construction might be made thereof to their disadvantage; yet we being willing to make an indulgent interpretation of their actions, in regard of the good opinion we have of the loyalty of those gentlemen who (it seems) are principals amongst them in that assembly, and conceiving there may be some mistaking in that enterprise, we have chosen the rather hereby to charge the said Luke Neterville, Blackney, King, and all the persons there assembled with them, upon their duties of allegiance to his majesty, immediately upon sight hereof to separate, and not to unite any more in that manner without direction from us: and that the said Neterville, Blackney, King, and six others of the principal persons of those who are so assembled at Swords or thereabouts as aforesaid, do appear

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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pear before us to-morrow morning at ten of the clock, to shew the cause of their assembling in that manner, whereof they may not fail at their extreme perils.

1641.

Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin,
9 December, 1641.

Ormond Offery,
Robert Dillon,
Cha. Lambert,
John Temple,
Charles Coet.

But they were so far from rendering obedience to the commands they received from the board, as they kept the messenger in restraint a day and a night, threatening to hang him, and after returned a scornful peremptory answer, signifying unto their lordships, "that they were constrained to meet there together, for the safety of their lives; that they were put in so great a terror by the rising out of some horse troops and foot companies at Dublin, who killed four catholicks for no other reason, than that they bore the name of that religion, as they durst not," as they pretended, "stay in their houses, and therefore resolved to continue together, till they were assured by their lordships of the safety of their lives before they run the hazard thereof, by manifesting their obedience due unto their lordships." These were the very words and expressions used by those gentlemen in their answer: and accordingly they still continued together, encreasing their number of men and threatening to come down and encamp themselves at Clantarfe, a little village standing upon the very harbour of Dublin;

The answer made by the pale to the lord's warrant.

1641.

Dublin; where some of their followers had already at low water seized upon a bark lying there, and carried away all the commodities they found in her; a great part whereof they had put into the then dwelling house of the said King, to whom that village did belong. This was an act of so high a strain, and so eminently tending to the present ruin of the city, as it required a sudden remedy; delays were dangerous in a matter of such perilous consequence; and the lords justices and council, plainly perceived that if the rebels were suffered to come down and lodge there, that they might without much difficulty make themselves masters of these few barks then in the harbour (the state having at that time no ships of force to guard them) and so put themselves in a fair way, if they could bring the Wexford ships about to join with them, to block up the harbour, and stop the coming in to their relief all such succours as should be designed in England to land at that port. Whereupon the lords finding that the said King continued still with Luke Netterville and those other gentlemen at Swords, that they carried themselves with such high contumacy, as that disdain- ing to render any obedience to their warrant, they neither made their departure from that place, disbanded their men, nor so much as pretended to repair to them according to their commands at the time perfixed therein: it was thought high time to take some other course with them; and therefore about four days after, the day first set down by the lords for their appearing before them, and the very next day after another proclamation published for their immediate separation, the lords

lords justices and council made this ensuing order, directed to the earl of Ormonde, lieutenant general of his majesty's forces in Ireland.

1641.

By the lords justices and council.

William Parsons, John Borlace.

FOrasmuch as divers of the inhabitants of Clantarfe, Raheny, and Kilbarrock, have declared themselves rebels, and having robbed and spoiled some of his majesty's good subjects, are now assembled thereabouts in arms in great numbers, mustering and training of their rebellious multitudes, to the terrour and danger of his majesty's good subjects, as well at land as at sea; which their boldness is acted in such manner as to put scorns and affronts upon this state and government, they acting such depredations even before our faces, and in our own view as it were in despite of us: it is therefore ordered, that our very good lord the earl of Ormonde and Ossory, lieutenant general of the army, do forthwith send out a party of soldiers of horse and foot, to fall upon those rebels at Clantarfe and thereabouts, who in such disdainful manner, stand to outface and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for punishment as terrour to others, and to burn and spoil the rebels houses and goods: and to prevent their further annoying of the shipping, going out and coming in, and lying in harbour, those soldiers are to bring up, or cause to be brought up to the new Crane at Dublin, such of the boats and vessels

A warrant from the lords justices and council for the suppressing of the rebels of the Pale.

1641.


vessels now lying there as they can upon the sudden; and to burn, spoil and sink, and make unserviceable the rest. Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, December 14, 1641.

Or. Offory, Rob. Dillon, Cha. Lambart,
 Ad. Loftus, Jo. Temple, Cha. Coote,
 Fran. Willoughby.

Sir Charles
 Coote marches out
 with some
 forces to
 Clantarfe.

According to their lordships directions, the earl of Ormonde gave present order to Sir Charles Coote to march out privately with some forces unto Clantarfe, which he did without any noise; and meeting there with no opposition, he only suffered his men to pillage the town, whereof they burnt some part, as also part of Mr. King's house, in which much of the goods were found that had been taken out of the bark before mentioned: and this was the first expedition that the forces newly raised in Dublin, made after the defeat of the six hundred men in their passage to Tredagh: as for the massacre at Santry, mentioned in the answer from the lords of the pale, and obtruded on the world, as a just pretence to deter them from waiting on the lords at Dublin, it was no other than this: information was given to some of the officers of the army, that there had been a robbery newly committed by certain rebels at the house of one Smith, called the Buskin, within five miles of the city: and that if a party of soldiers might be sent forth, the informer offered to bring them upon those rebels, as also upon other rebels, who had lately murdered one Mr. Derick Hubart a Dutch merchant at the Skerries; whereupon two officers

The true
 relation of
 the pre-
 tended
 massacre at
 Santry.

officers with forty foot, were sent out with direction to fall upon those rebels: they went directly to Santry, and there finding some strangers with weapons lodged in suspicious places, they slew four of them; who as was conceived were criminal offenders, and one of them after, upon further enquiry, found to be a protestant.

But how fairly soever this matter was carried, yet they resolved to make use of it for the present, by way of justification of their disloyalty: and having so far publickly declared themselves, they held it not fit to sit idle any longer, but began to put the whole circuit of the Pale into a posture of war, and to make all such preparatives as might enable them, by the powerful assistance they had out of the north, presently to take in Tredagh, and afterwards to march up to Dublin, and there make themselves masters of that city and castle: a work as now it stood represented unto them, not likely to prove less glorious than successful, and easy to be achieved: they had for this end many publick meetings among themselves, as also with the chief commanders of the northern rebels.

In the first place, they declared the lord viscount Gormanstone, general of the forces to be raised in the Pale, Hugh Birne, lieutenant general: the earl of Fingale, general of the horse: then they gave power to those lords to nominate captains in several baronies to be respectively appointed out of them, and likewise to raise soldiers in every such barony, viz. eight soldiers out of a plow-land (which contains, according to the ancient estimation, one hundred and twenty acres) and every plow-land to maintain the soldiers to be set out

The proceedings held by the lords and chief gentlemen of the English Pale, after they had join'd with the northern rebels.

1641.

out by them: the barony of Duleek was assigned to the lord of Gormanstone; the barony of Screene and Desse, to the earl of Fingale; the barony of Slaine, to the lord of Slaine; the barony of the Navan, to the lord of Trimblestone; Kells, to the lord Dunfany; Ratogh and Dunboine, to Sir Richard Barnewall of Crickestown, baronet, and Patrick Barnewell of Cilbrew; and by these persons, several captains were appointed, and numbers of soldiers raised according to the orders set down at the general meeting: there were also warrants issued out by lord Gormanstone, whereby those persons appointed to raise the men, and to furnish them with provisions for their entertainment, were required upon pain of death to send them out: other warrants were likewise sent out to other persons who were appointed overseers for the threshing out of all the protestants corn, which was assigned generally through the Pale to be applied towards the maintenance of their army. The next work was to make a constant provision of all manner of necessaries for the entertainment of such forces as were already brought down out of the north, as well as those raised in the Pale, and set down at the siege of Tredagh. And for this service they seized the whole country thereabouts, and ordered what proportions of corn and numbers of cattle should be brought down out of every part for the victualling of those that lay encamped about the town: there was allotted to every company, consisting of a hundred men, for their daily allowance, one beef, and half a barrel of corn: and that they might with the more facility bring in the country people to furnish their army with these proportions,

1641.

portions, they made not only prohibitions that no corn should be carried to Dublin, but so blocked up the ways as the poor churles that lived somewhat distant from the city, could not carry their corn thither without apparent danger; whereby the market began to be very ill provided, and great want and scarcity was much feared by reason of the large accession of people come from several parts of the kingdom up unto the city for safety. Whereupon the lords justices and council made proclamation to be published, that all such as had corn remaining within some few miles distance, should, as their usual manner was, bring it to the market at Dublin, and they should receive ready money for the same; in case they did not that, they would presently send out parties and burn their corn as it stood in the haggards, and so prevent the use the rebels intended to make of it for the victualling of their army. By this means the city was indifferently well supplied all that winter with corn, the country people, though otherways very malicious against the English and protestants, being content, though with much hazard, to adventure the bringing their corn, where they sold it at a good rate for ready money, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by warrants from the lord of Gormanstone for the use of the Irish army then lying before Tredagh.

But while they continue their fruitless and unprofitable attempts there, having neither skill, courage, experience, nor any means to bring about their impetuous desires and fond endeavours for the taking in of that town, I shall briefly represent a view of the sad estate of our affairs in Dublin: it was now almost full

The sad
condition
of the pub-
lick affairs
of the state.

1642.

full two months since the breaking out of this rebellion: the lords justices and council, out of their deep apprehensions of a general revolt of all the Irish through the kingdom, did in the very beginning, with much earnestness, sollicite the present sending over of succours out of England: and as soon as they began to make a little further discovery into the strength of this conspiracy, and found their own wants and utter disabilities to make any long or considerable opposition against the universal power of the whole body of the Irish, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with almost all the old English that were of the Romish profession incorporated into their party throughout Ireland, they did with much more earnestness by their frequent letters and several agents, represent unto his majesty and the parliament of England, the very ill, even desperate condition they were in; and therefore desired that supplies both of men, money, and all kind of warlike provisions, might be sent away with all speed unto them, declaring that unless they received them presently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to subsist as they stood now environed on all sides with multitudes of the rebels, but had just reason to apprehend their own present ruin, and the inevitable loss of the whole kingdom: and because they conceived the levies in England could not be so suddenly made nor the men so easily transported from thence into the north of Ireland, (where the rebels appeared in greatest numbers, and had by their most unparalleled cruelty towards the English done most mischief) as out of Scotland, they made a proposition

position to the lord lieutenant, to move both his majesty and the parliament, that 10000 Scots might be presently raised and sent over into those parts. This they pressed with much earnestness, representing the very great terrour the meer Irish had of that nation, that their bodies would better sort with that climate, endure more hardship, and with less distemper undergo the toils and miseries of an Irish war; that the transportation would be made with much more facility and less charge, it being not above three or four hours sail from some parts of Scotland into the north of Ireland; that the kingdom of Scotland had been lately in arms, and so had all provisions necessary for the furnishing of their men for this expedition in readiness: and lastly, they having so good a foundation in the multitude of their own countrymen so advantageously settled there already, would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and vigorously prosecute the war with such sharpness, as might testify their deep resentment of the horrid cruelties exercised upon so many thousands of their own nation by that barbarous people.

These letters arrived very opportunely, about the time of the king's return from Edinburgh to the parliament of England, then sitting at Westminster: and there being even then two Scottish lords come out of the kingdom of Scotland, to treat with the parliament of England concerning the sending forces from thence for the relief of Ireland; his majesty sent to the lords and commons to give them notice of their arrival, and withal desired, that certain commissioners appointed by himself, and both houses

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The sending of 10000 Scots into Ireland, pressed by the lords justices and council.

Commissioners sent out of Scotland to treat with the parliament of England concerning the relief of Ireland.

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of parliament, might be presently named to treat with them, and from time to time, give an account of their proceedings to his majesty and both houses. This motion was with very great readiness yielded unto, and it was ordered, that the earl of Bedford, the earl of Leicester lord lieutenant of Ireland, the lord Howard of Effrick; nominated by the house of peers: and Nathaniel Fiennes, esq; sir William Ermin, baronet, sir Philip Stapleton, knight, John Hamden, esq; nominated by the house of commons, should treat with the Scottish commissioners concerning the affairs of Ireland, and that there should be a commission granted unto them to this effect, under the great seal of England, together with particular instructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.

Propositions presented to the parliament of England, for the relief of Ireland.

In the propositions given in by the Scottish commissioners, they did in the first place make offer of ten thousand men in the name of the kingdom of Scotland: and that they might be enabled to send them speedily away, they desired an advance of 30000*l*. of the brotherly assistance afforded unto them by the kingdom of England, and that what arms and munition they sent into Ireland, might in the same proportions be returned unto them with all expedition.

Next they desired that some ships of war might be appointed to guard the seas betwixt Scotland and Ireland, to waft over their soldiers which they designed to transport in small vessels.

And, then, that upon landing of their men in Ireland, there should be 100 horse ready to joyn with every 1000 foot that they should send thither: and that they should receive instructions

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instructions and orders; and in every thing obey the Scottish general.

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These propositions being taken into consideration in the house of commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighed the high necessities of this kingdom, that the Scots had 2500 men ready raised, and that they could not so suddenly make provision any other way for the saving Ireland, as by sending these forces out of Scotland, they readily condescended unto them; and having voted them severally, they sent them up to the house of peers, with their desires for a speedy concurrence in them.

These beginnings gave great hopes of the sudden relief of Ireland; and it was now generally believed, that considerable forces would be transported within a very short time out of Scotland for the defence of the northren parts of this kingdom; especially considering with how much earnestness his majesty in his speech made to the lords and commons in parliament on the 14th of December, in this present year, had pressed them to take to heart the business of Ireland, and offered unto them whatsoever his power, pains or industry could contribute to the good and necessary work of reducing the Irish nation to their true and wonted obedience.

But, alas, these great expectations were soon dashed, and the forces designed for Ireland, as well out of England as Scotland, strangely retarded by several obstructions which daily arose in the transaction of the English affairs.

The forces designed for Ireland, retarded.

For first, his majesty in the same speech, wherein he conjured them, by all that was

dear to him or them, to go on cheerfully and speedily for the reducing of Ireland, did take notice of a bill for pressing soldiers for Ireland, depending in the house of peers, and declaring his dislike of putting it in that way, told them he would pass it, so there was a *salvo jure* put into it both for the king and people, but withal, told them that he thought himself little beholding unto him, whosoever it was, that began this dispute so far trenching upon the bounds of his antient and undoubted prerogative.

These passages in his majesty's speech were deeply resented, not only by the lords who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the house of commons: and therefore his majesty had no sooner ended his speech and left their house, but the lords fell into consideration of the same, and resolved that the king by taking notice of the debate in their house of the bill, concerning pressing of soldiers, had broken the fundamental privileges of parliament. And presently a message was brought unto them likewise by Mr. Hollis from the house of commons, to desire a conference with their lordships by committees of both houses touching the privileges of parliament: at the conference they fully expressed the deep sense they had of the high injury offered unto them, by his majesty's invading their privileges; and proceeded so far as to come not only to petition his majesty, and to desire that he would be pleased to make known that person who had given him information so unduly of what had passed in their house: but also to make a protestation concerning their privileges: this took up some time, and the great misunderstanding even

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even which then began to appear betwixt his majesty and the parliament, had so strong an influence into the business of Ireland, as notwithstanding the high necessities of this kingdom, and the great affections expressed by the kingdom of England for our sudden relief here, the resolutions were slow, and the preparations went so heavily on, as it was long before the house of commons could find means to enable the lord lieutenant to send so much as one regiment away out of England, for the defence of the castle and city of Dublin, then much distressed by the near approach of the rebels.

And now for the forces to be sent out of Scotland into the northern parts of this kingdom, they meet with several obstructions likewise. For first, the commissioners of Scotland had not power given them from the state there, to treat for the sending over a lesser number than ten thousand men, which the lords here were very unwilling to condescend unto. But this obstacle was soon removed by the zealous affections of the house of commons, who, as soon as the propositions brought in by the Scottish commissioners for the relief of Ireland, were presented unto them, voted their assent to treat for the sending of the number of ten thousand men out of Scotland, according to the instructions given to the commissioners by that kingdom; and sent up a message to the house of peers by sir Philip Stapleton, knt. to lay before their lordships, the miserable estate of the kingdom of Ireland, and to let them know that the house of commons conceived the best way for the preservation of it out of the hands of the rebels, was speedily to dispatch the Scots into the province

The debate of the propositions presented by the Scottish commissioners, in the house of peers.

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vince of Ulster, and therefore desired that they would join with them in the propositions received from the Scottish commissioners.

Upon the receipt of this message, the house of peers fell upon the said proposition, and after a long debate, it was at length agreed, that ten thousand Scots should be sent into Ireland, if the house of commons would condescend that at the same time there might ten thousand English men be as speedily sent likewise thither; and thereupon desired a conference with the house of commons, that they might fully understand their resolution therein, which being yielded unto them by the house of commons, the lords at the conference pressed with much earnestness, that they might be assured of the sending over of ten thousand English at the same time that the Scots were to be sent away: whereunto the house of commons replied, that they were not to be capitulated withal; that their actions were free as well without conditions as capitulations; that they thought they had given sufficient certainty already of their resolution to send that number of English into Ireland; and therefore desired that their lordships would vote the sending away of ten thousand Scots by themselves without any relation to the English spoken of by them.

This took up a large debate in the house of peers, and was one main cause of the slow proceeding on of the treaty with the Scottish commissioners. I shall not undertake to determine at so great a distance from whence these obstructions grew, but I am very sure we could here easily find, that there were some such secret workings underhand against the good affections expressed by the house of commons,

mons, and by the lords who were well affected to the service of Ireland, as that this treaty was very much retarded thereby, and was not brought on to any conclusion in many months after. So as in the mean time, all the British planted throughout this kingdom, were despoiled, driven out of their habitations, or most cruelly murdered within their own doors: and the Irish strengthened themselves in all parts of the country, and prevailing every where, drew many to join with them, that had hitherto kept themselves in a kind of neutrality, as supposing that the state here would be altogether deserted, and no forces at all sent out of England for the suppressing of the Irish that had taken up arms in this quarrel.

The whole province of Munster about the midst of this month of December, began to declare themselves in open rebellion. The lord president there had used his utmost endeavours to suppress their very beginnings, but by reason of his want of strength was now able to contain them no longer: he did with all diligence and carefulness labour to prevent the joining together of any numbers of the Irish in any of those parts: and when he understood how they began in some places of the province to despoil the English, and that they had near Waterford gotten away many of the English mens cattle, and were carrying them out of the limits of his government, he thought it not fit longer to sit still, but gallantly pursued those rebels in his own person, being accompanied only with his own troop of horse, and some few gentlemen of the country, who joined with them, and after a long and tedious march came upon them unawares,

The revolt of the Irish in the province of Munster.

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The misery
suffered by
the English
in Munster.

He slew 2000 of those rebels, restored the cattle to the English that were owners of them, and took several prisoners whom he hanged for a greater terror to all such as should adventure afterwards to follow their examples: as soon as he had done this service, his lordship retired back to Cork, having neither forces nor means to make any further prosecution, which the Irish well enough understood, and therefore drew together in several places of that province; and tho' they did not in that barbarous manner, as they in Ulster, hew down, cut in pieces, hang, drown or presently murder all the English among them; yet many horrid murders they committed, used several kinds of cruelty to many particular persons, and for all the rest that fell into their hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their goods and cattle, most miserably stripped them out of their cloaths; and leaving them quite naked, suffered most of them in that lamentable posture to pass to Cork, Youghall, Kinsale, and other ports there to embark their miserable carcasses for England, where few arrived safely, and I am sure I may well say few, in respect of those multitudes who perished through want, cold and famine, before they could get to those towns; or otherwise died after their arrival in them; or were by storms at sea cast away. And for the English who stood upon their guard and immured themselves up in several castles of good strength in those parts, they endured many months siege, suffered much want and misery, and having bravely resisted all the assaults and attempts that the Irish made with great multitudes upon them, and in many places caused them to raise their sieges with great loss and slaughter

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slaughter of their men, yet they were afterwards, finding themselves without all hope or possibility of relief, enforced to deliver those places together with the multitudes of the English they had received, into the hands of the rebels, upon fair quarter solemnly promised by them: and in many places no sooner had they by that means gotten entrance into them, but that they most perfidiously broke the quarter given, despoiled them of that little remainder of their substance they had then left, and sent them away in great want and misery to find relief among other English garrisons. But the whole country being wasted and destroyed, and the poor English that lived in it despoiled of all their substance, were become so miserable and poor, as that they were able to afford them very little relief or comfort, besides pity and compassion, which could not support or keep alive those languishing gally creatures, so as multitudes dyed, some in ditches, some travelling on the highways, some under hedges, and so left their carcasses as fearful spectacles to the beholders, and sad monuments of the inhumane cruelties exercised on them by those bloody rebels, who yet under pretence of mercy spared their lives, but took up a resolution as they were not ashamed to declare, to put them to a more lingering death; and therefore left them in such a condition, as inevitably brought on their miserable ends with much more discomfort and sorrow.

But this shall suffice to shew the beginning of the rising of the Irish in Munster; the particulars whereof shall be clearly and at large set down in the following relations of their first proceedings within that province, where
it

it shall be declared likewise, how all the great towns in Leinster, except Dublin and Tredagh, did about the same time begin to strip and expel all the British and protestants, that either inhabited in them, or fled out of the country near about to shelter themselves there, from the barbarous cruelties of their Irish neighbours.

Dublin distressed.

As for the city of Dublin, it began now to be much more strictly encompassed by the forces of the rebels, much increased through their late conjunction with the English pale. And in case of their want of power to force it, yet they having made their approaches so near, and having so absolutely stopped up all the avenues, as we had great reason to apprehend their keeping back of provisions would drive the city into high necessities, and quickly occasion great want there. And here I cannot without much grief of heart call to mind the lamentable complaints and bitter out-crys, which until this time, were continually sent up unto the lords justices and council, while they remained in this posture, out of several parts of the country, where the English inhabitants being by the Irish driven out of their habitations, had for their present safeguard put themselves into houses or castles of some strength: they there enduring much want and misery, made shift, though not without great difficulty, by several messages and letters to make known their condition to the state, as also that they were resolved, as many of them did, to suffer the utmost extremities out of hope of relief, and a confident expectation of succours from them.

But

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But alas! all was in vain, they were able to afford them no other comfort than what their pitiful commiseration of their sorrowful condition would administer; they were themselves reduced so low, as with the greatest power they could raise, they durst not adventure to send any ways five miles out of the city, their supplies out of England were not arrived, they had neither place nor means to raise men, but only within the verge of the city; and such as they ordinarily took up there, were either Irish, whereof many ran presently away with their arms to the rebels, or poor stripped English, and inhabitants of the city, who were raw men, and though they afterwards being well exercised and trained to the use of their arms, proved very good soldiers, yet for the present they were very unfit for service; as appeared in that little expedition colonel Craford made out with his men to Finglass, a little town two miles distant from the city, at the same time, when sir Charles Coote marched forth to beat Luke Netterville with his undisciplined regiment out of his quarters at Santry, who having timely notice of his coming saved him the labour, for he presently upon the rumour thereof, dislodged, and fled in so much haste, as he left some of his best equipage and all his provisions behind him: but that party of rebels colonel Craford found at Finglass, having placed themselves with good advantage behind great ditches, stood better to their work, and carried themselves so stoutly, as our new raised men began to shrink, and had not the colonel and some other of his officers behaved themselves very well that day, their men had made a most dangerous

Some forces sent out to encounter the rebels who lodged within three miles of Dublin.

Dublin sur-
rounded on
every side
by the re-
bels.

dangerous and shameful retreat. This was the greatest expedition the forces in Dublin were able to undertake at that time; which no man will wonder at, if he doth consider it hath been related how the town was in a manner surrounded on every side by several parties of the rebels gathered together; all commerce was interrupted, all provisions brought out of the country for the supply of it intercepted, as also, that all the chief of the English inhabitants had transported themselves, their goods, and their families into England, many of the papists had upon other reasons retired themselves, and what belonged unto them, into the country, and there taken up their habitations within the rebels quarters; no manner of intercourse with any persons whatsoever that made their abode without the distance of two miles from any part of the city; no intelligence to be had upon any terms from among the rebels, all courses taken for it disappointed, several messengers hanged up; and yet on the other side, all our designs disclosed, our weakness discovered, and the most private resolutions by one means or other communicated unto them. The parties of the rebels that lay near about the city, were these following, Luke Neterville being beaten from Santry, lay with near two thousand men at Swords, a town six miles distant; and possessed himself of the castle of Artaine, and some other places within two miles of the city: on the west-side of the city, at Tasslagard, Rath-coole, Castle-Lyons, and other little villages within the compass of six miles, there lay two thousand more of the rebels who were come down out of the counties of Caterlagh, King's county, Kildare, and other

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other parts under the command of Roger Moor, and Sutton, Eustace of Castle Martin, and others. The Clandonells, Burnes and Toolles, were also come down in great numbers out of the county of Wicklow, and had lodged themselves in some castles towards the sea-side, and in some villages at the foot of the mountain, not above three or four miles distant from the town on the south-side: how desperately these forces threatened our ruine and sudden destruction will appear by this ensuing letter bearing date about the midst of December, written from the lords justices and council, unto the lord lieutenant then attending for his dispatch.

A letter from the lords justices and council,
to the lord lieutenant.

May it please your lordship,

BY our letters of the third of December, we made known to your lordship, that Mr. Hawtrige was then newly arrived with the treasure sent us from thence, which came but to sixteen thousand five hundred fourscore and ten pounds, a supply of treasure far short of that which is now become necessary to perform any considerable service here against the rebels, whose numbers are increased wonderfully, insomuch as the forces they have about Drogheda on all sides of it, and between Drogheda and this place, reaching even within four miles of this city, are upon very credible report, conceived to be above twenty thousand men, and besides those numbers who are so united between this
and

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' and Drogheda and thereabouts, there are
 ' many thousands of them dispersed the
 ' whole kingdom over; for the meaner sort
 ' of people first rise generally, and then those
 ' of better quality follow after, and the fire
 ' which was first kindled in Ulster, and lay a
 ' while smothered in other parts, begins now
 ' to break out so generally, as the defection
 ' now appears to be universal throughout
 ' the whole four provinces; so strangely
 ' rooted was the combination, and that
 ' strengthened under the specious shew of a
 ' war for religion; for although before and
 ' since the caution we had from your lord-
 ' ship, we have on our part endeavoured not
 ' to give any apprehension to the Irish, that
 ' England doth intend to make it a war of
 ' religion, yet as we formerly made known
 ' to your lordship, the rebels labour mainly
 ' to have it so understood. Nay, they now
 ' go so far as they call themselves generally
 ' the catholick army, a title which hath
 ' drawn many thousands to their party, and
 ' yet many joined with them for no other
 ' reason than because they saw our succours
 ' expected forth of England and Scotland de-
 ' ferred; they rightly judging, that without
 ' those succours, we are not able to defend
 ' them ourselves; and indeed until those suc-
 ' cours come, they must and will still en-
 ' crease; but if our men and arms were once
 ' arrived the very countenance of their
 ' coming would draw many from them to
 ' us, and give some stop to the fury, with
 ' which they yet carry all before them
 ' whithersoever they come.

' They continue their rage and malignity
 ' against the English and protestants, who if
 ' they

they leave their goods or cattle for more safety with any papists; those are called out by the rebels, and the papists goods and cattle left behind; and now upon some new councils taken by them, they have added to their former, a farther degree of cruelty, even of the highest nature, which is to proclaim, that if any Irish shall harbour or relieve any English, that he suffered to escape them with his life, that it shall be penal even to death to such Irish; and so they will be sure though they put not those English actually to the sword, yet they do as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the sword; and they profess they will never give over until they leave not any seed of an English man in Ireland.

Nor is their malice towards the English expressed only so, but further even to the beasts of their fields, and improvements of their hands, for they destroy all cattle of English breed, and declare openly, that their reason is, because they are English; so great is their hatred, not only to the persons of the English, but also to every species of that nation; and they destroy all improvements made by the English, and lay waste their habitations.

We formerly signified to your lordship, that to take away all jealousy from the papists of the English Pale, we would furnish them with some arms, and the rather because we well know that in the last great rebellion in Ireland, the English Pale stood firm to the crown of England; and that the rebel Tyrone in the height of his power and greatness, was never able to get into the
Pale

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‘ Pale with his forces whilst he was in rebel-
‘ lion; and upon this occasion, the noblemen
‘ and gentlemen of the Pale, making deep
‘ professions of their loyalty to his majesty,
‘ in imitation of their ancestors, and with
‘ expressions seeming to abhor the contrivers
‘ of this rebellion here, against whom they
‘ offered their power and strength, so as they
‘ might have arms; and we being well assured
‘ that if we could gain their concurrence with
‘ us, it would much facilitate our work; we
‘ did at their earnest suit issue for them arms
‘ for one thousand seven hundred men,
‘ wherewith divers companies were armed by
‘ them, and some of themselves were appoint-
‘ ed governors of the forces of the counties,
‘ and captains of their companies; but so ma-
‘ ny of those companies revolted to the re-
‘ bels, and carried away their arms with
‘ them, as we have recovered back but nine
‘ hundred and fifty arms; so as those whose
‘ loyalty we had reason to expect would help
‘ us, are now through their disloyalty turn-
‘ ed against us, and are strengthened with
‘ our own arms; and without all question, if
‘ those of the English Pale had done their
‘ parts as became good subjects with the
‘ arms they had from us, and those they
‘ might gather amongst themselves, they
‘ might with our help not only have defend-
‘ ed the Pale against the rebels, but might al-
‘ so have prevented the ruin and destruction
‘ wrought by their tenants and neighbours
‘ on the poor English and protestants amongst
‘ them; for the noblemen and gentry sate
‘ still and looked on, whilst the English and
‘ protestants were ruined before their faces;
‘ the papists in the mean time remaining se-
‘ cure,

cure, without the loss of goods, or any thing else.

When we saw the power and strength of the rebels still growing upon us more and more, and approaching by degrees more near to us, and the English and protestants robbed and spoiled even within two miles of this city, in disdain and affront of this state, which are scorns of so high a nature, as we could not endure, if we had strength sufficient to repress their insolencies; and when we observed the retarding of our succours of men and arms from England or Scotland, neither of both succours being yet come, nor as we heard so much as in view there or in Scotland; and when we found apparently that for want of those supplies, we became in a manner so contemptible, as we were in danger to be set upon for taking from us this city and castle before our aids should come, we bethought us of all the means we could of gaining time, being confident that we cannot be so deserted by the state of England, but that some supplies may yet come unto us: and therefore on the third of December, we directed our letters to divers of the nobility of the kingdom who were nearest to us, and most of them being of the English Pale, to be with us here on the eighth day of this month, that we might confer with them concerning the present state of the kingdom; and we hoped by their help, to handle the matter so as we might gain a few days time before our surprisal here, by which time in all likelihood our succours might arrive, although it be boldly given out by the rebels, that we shall have no succours

T

from

1641.

‘ from thence, which they divulge to embol-
 ‘ den their party, and to strike terror and dis-
 ‘ couragement into the well-affected, amongst
 ‘ whom there are many so weak, as to appre-
 ‘ hend from thence too much fear, whereby
 ‘ many are fled the kingdom.

‘ On the eighth day of this month, the earl
 ‘ of Kildare, the lord viscount Fitz-Williams,
 ‘ and the lord baron of Howth came unto us,
 ‘ but the rest of the noblemen not coming de-
 ‘ ferred our conference, and on the eleventh
 ‘ day of this month we received letters from
 ‘ seven of them, namely, the earl of Fingale,
 ‘ the lord viscount Gormanstone, the lord
 ‘ viscount Netterville, and the lords of Slaine,
 ‘ Trimblestone, Dunsany and Lowth, dated
 ‘ the seventh day of this month, and signed
 ‘ by them, pretending a fear of a massacre on
 ‘ those of their religion, and that therefore
 ‘ they are deterred, to wait on us, but do ra-
 ‘ ther think it fit to stand upon their guard;
 ‘ and how that resolution of theirs may stand
 ‘ with the loyalty they profess, we humbly
 ‘ submit to his majesty’s excellent judgment,
 ‘ for whose royal view we send you here in-
 ‘ closed, a copy of their said letters.

‘ When we received those letters, we did
 ‘ admire whence the fears of coming to us
 ‘ should arise; but afterwards we heard that
 ‘ they had been in consultation with the re-
 ‘ bels, which also as to most of them is con-
 ‘ firmed by the enclosed examination of Chris-
 ‘ topher Hampton, and indeed we know no
 ‘ cause of fear they have of us, unless their
 ‘ own guilts begot in them the fear they pre-
 ‘ tend; and they spare not though unjustly to
 ‘ charge us with a neglect of their advices;
 ‘ whereas

whereas not one of them to this hour offered to us any advice or real assistance towards pacification of these troubles.

It became then publick (nor could we keep secret that which they had published to others) that those noblemen so far sided with the rebels as they now stood on their guard; we therefore adjudged it fit for vindicating the state from the aspersion which we found so publickly endeavoured to be laid upon us, to publish the inclosed proclamation, as well to satisfy to the world as those noblemen, who certainly are abundantly satisfied in their own secret thoughts, that we never intended to massacre them or any other; that being a thing which we and all good protestants do much abhor, whatever the practice of their religion is, and hath been found to be by woful experience in other parts, whereof we confess we are now in great danger, if our long expected succours come not the sooner to us; and it may be gathered from that unexampled tyranny which the rebels have already exercised towards those of our nation and religion, who fell into their hands, what we for our parts may expect from them; but the dishonour and shame which may reflect upon the English nation by exposing this state and kingdom to so apparent ruine; and with it the extirpation of God's true religion, afflicts us more than the loss of our own lives and fortunes, when all might be saved by sending seasonably those succours.

Welately received letters from the lady Ofaly, and a letter containing most insolent menaces, inclosed therein, sent her from the

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rebels, to which she sent them a noble answer, copies whereof we send here inclosed.
 One of the rebels styling himself chaplain major and overseer of the coasts and harbours, lately sent a summons in a proud and vaunting manner, to one Edward Leech, that was entrusted to keep the island of Lambay, requiring the delivery up of that island to the rebels, which being done, he gave Leech a pass, wherein he styles the rebels forces the catholick army. A copy of which summons and pass we send your lordship here inclosed; and Leech told us that that mighty chaplain declared openly to him, that he was plotter of this rebellion. That he had spent in travel and prosecution of that design beyond seas, four thousand pound; and that all the kings in christendom, excepting the king of England, and the king of Denmark, have hands in this business.

A castle in the town of Longford, held by the English, who stood out a while against the rebels, being in the end through want of victuals necessitated to be rendered up to them, upon promise of quarter, a popish priest standing with his skean in his hand, watching for the coming forth of a minister then among the English, did by thrusting that skean into the minister's guts, and ripping up his belly give that as a signal to the rebels, for falling upon the rest of the English, which they did accordingly, as soon as the minister was murdered, killing some and hanging the rest most perfidiously.

On the ninth of this month, we received advertisement, that great numbers of men

were

‘ were gathered together in warlike manner at Swords in the county of Dublin, within six miles of us, they having the army of the rebels behind them on this side Drogheda; whereupon we then immediately sent out our warrant, commanding them to disperse: a copy whereof we send your lordship here inclosed; which was not obeyed; but a letter sent us from Luke Netterville, son to the lord viscount Netterville, and others of them: a copy whereof we likewise send here inclosed; whereupon we published the inclosed manifest, for vindicating this state from their aspersions also: and it is observable, that those gentlemen at Swords could even on that very Tuesday night, wherein they alledge they were so affrighted at their houses, assemble twelve hundred men together in that moment of time, to have in readiness against any attempt from the state, whereas for many days before, they could sit still and look on, whilst an army of the enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and Drogheda, and whilst some of them openly declared rebels, and many of their neighbours, who doubtless hold underhand intelligence with the rebels, robbed and spoiled the English on all parts round about them; and yet those gentlemen could not in all that time be either so affrighted by the rebels, or so compassionate of their poor English neighbours, as to assemble any men for the defence of themselves, or those their poor English neighbours; and certainly those gentlemen might have been as believing in this state who have always used lenity and mildness towards them, as

1647. { in the forces of the rebels which lie so
 { near behind them, and who they know
 { have murdered many of his majesty's good
 { and innocent subjects, and for ought they
 { know (if there were not secret intelligence
 { between them) might have used them also
 { in like manner.

{ But the truth is, we conceive those gen-
 { tlemen had a mind to join with the rebels,
 { and do now take up pretences to cover
 { their disloyalty, and cast scandal on this
 { government.

{ The rebels in the Pale as in other parts,
 { have caused masses to be said openly in the
 { churches, expelled the Ministers from of-
 { ficiating in their churches, and forced di-
 { vers persons for saving their lives and goods
 { to become papists, openly professing that
 { no protestant shall be suffered to live in
 { Ireland, and whilst they insult thus over
 { all the English and protestants, destroying
 { them for no other reason, but for that they
 { are protestants and English, we let fall no-
 { thing against them touching religion, and
 { yet they feign things against us, tending
 { that way to give some colour to their cruel
 { proceedings.

{ The rebels of the county of Kildare have
 { taken the Naas and Kildare in the county
 { of Kildare. The rebels of Meath have
 { taken Trim, and Ashboy in the county of
 { Meath, and divers other places; the rebels
 { of the county of Dublin have possessed
 { Swords and Rathcoole, and spoiled all the
 { English and protestants even to the gates
 { of Dublin; and now about fifteen hundred
 { of the rebels of Wicklow are in and about
 { Powerscourt, and about ten miles from
 { this

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this city; there are also between this and the Naas within six or seven miles of us, a thousand of the rebels of Kildare, and the borders of Wicklow and Dublin, so as we are in this city invironed by them on all sides by land, and they begin to stop access to us by sea; for the fishermen on the sea-coasts being all Irish and papists inhabitants in the pale, break out also into rebellion with the multitude, and have robbed, spoiled and pillaged even within the bay of Dublin, several barks coming hither forth of England. And if to revenge this villainy on the fishermen at Clantarfe and thereabouts, so near us, we send forth a party of soldiers to burn and spoil those rebels houses and corn, the gentlemen of the pale will immediately take new offence; but that we will adventure upon, for now there is no dalliance with them, who so far declare themselves against the state, not caring what scorns are put upon the government, wherein is observable, that the landlord of Clantarfe is one of those gentlemen risen in arms at Swords.

Your lordship now sees not only the necessity of hastening with all possible speed, our succours of men and arms, both out of England and Scotland, in greater numbers than those at first designed, seeing the breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general than at first was conceived; and yet so as such of them as are ready be not forced to stay for the rest, but that those may be so ordered as to come after, for no flesh can imagine, unless they saw it as we do, the greatness of our danger, who are but a handful in comparison of the multi-

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tudes risen against us; and we desire that the ten thousand designed to come from Scotland, may be wholly sent away, as well the five thousand intended to be left there in readiness as the rest, with direction to land as near Dublin as they may, and where-soever they land to march to Dublin if possibly they can; and to send away with all speed the ships appointed for guarding these coasts, is also very necessary to be hastened, and that two or three ships of good strength follow after: doubtless these rebels expect a very great supply of arms and munition from foreign parts either Spain or France.

And although out of the fore-sight we had of this extremity since these troubles began, we have endeavoured to get in some provisions of victuals and corn, yet we have not been able to provide ourselves sufficiently to stand out any long siege, nor can we now get in any more, our markets being almost taken away, and the strength of the rebels surrounding us so as we can fetch in no more provisions; wherefore we beseech your lordship that the magazines of victuals designed to be settled on that side, may be settled with all speed, if it be not done already, whereby we and the succours we expect, may not be in distress of victuals for ourselves or them, or oats for our horses. Our want of victuals is the more in respect of the daily access of the English spoiled in the country.

The necessity of the defence of the province of Munster, required the immediate raising of a regiment of foot, consisting of one thousand men, and two troops of horse of threescore each troop, which three-score

we

we appointed the lord president to raise, and for the payment and arming of them, we humbly advise, seeing we cannot do it, that money and arms be sent from thence to Youghall, with a further supply of arms and munition for the stores in that province, now much wanting there.

And as the rebels which have beset us and this city on all sides by land, do threaten to cut off our market at Dublin, which we begin to feel already: so they boldly declare, that they will within a day or two cut off the watercourse, which brings water to this city and castle; and that done, that their multitudes will immediately burn our suburbs and besiege our walls, which we confess we yet want strength to defend, and must want till our supplies come forth of England or Scotland, or both; for here we have but about three thousand men, the rest of the old companies being dispersed in several needful garrisons in the country (excepting seven companies of them surprised, and cut off by the rebels at their first raising in Ulster and other parts) and about two hundred horse by the pole of the old army, whereof many are Irish: so as considering the speciousness of this city and suburbs to be defended, the smallness of our number to defend them, and the great numbers of papists inhabitants in this city and suburbs; and lastly, the very great numbers of the rebels, who are so strong as to approach this city with many thousands, and yet leave many thousands also at the siege of Drogheda, we cannot expect to be able to defend this city for any long time against them, without the arrival of our expected succours.

The

THE IRISH REBELLION.

1597.
The earl of Castle-haven on the tenth of this month, presented at this board the inclosed oath tendered unto him by the rebels to be sworn by him, which he saith he refused to swear, and we hear they send it to all parts to be tendered to the people, pressing them to take the sacrament thereupon.

We did lately in hope to gain some time until our supplies might come, listen to an offer made by some popish priests to go to the rebels and treat with them, as you may perceive by the inclosed: but, since, we find there is little hope of it, for some of the priests are returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

However it is fit your lordship should know what we do; we must now crave leave to declare to your lordship, that things being risen here to this height, threatening not only the shaking of the government, but the loss of the kingdom, as the supplies of men, arms, and more treasure, are of great necessity to be hastened away hither; so it is also needful that we enjoy your lordship's presence here, for the conduct in your own person of the great and important affairs of this state, as well in the martial as in the civil government, which do necessarily require it in this time of great imminent danger, wherein so far as we may be able to contribute any assistance with you, we shall be ready to discharge our duties therein, with that loyalty and uprightness of heart which we owe to his majesty, and the particular respect due from us to your lordship; but we hope you will bring that strength with you, which may besit the greatness of the king our master to send with his lieutenant

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' nant against so numerous enemies as these
' rebels are become, as well for the honour
' of his majesty, as for the terrour of those
' rebels.

' By what we have heretofore and now
' humbly represented to your lordship, you
' may in part see the greatness of the publick
' danger wherein this kingdom now stands,
' and particularly this city and castle, the
' principal piece thereof, that if those be lost
' (which we now again assure your lordship,
' were never in so great peril to be lost since
' the first conquest of this kingdom by the
' crown of England) the whole kingdom
' must quickly follow; that the danger which
' must thereupon arise to the kingdom of
' England, is very great in many respects.
' There is no possibility to prevent those evils
' with honour and safety to England, but by
' succours from thence or Scotland, or both;
' and that if those succours come not speedily,
' it cannot be avoided, but the kingdom must
' be lost.

' And if notwithstanding all this, so often
' and truly made knowp by us to your lord-
' ship, we shall perish for want of supplies,
' we shall carry this comfort with us to our
' graves or any other burial we shall have,
' that your lordship can witness for us to the
' royal majesty, and to all the world, that we
' have discharged our duties to God, to his
' majesty, to that nation, and to this, in hum-
' bly representing to his majesty by your lord-
' ship, the chief governour of the kingdom,
' the extremities and dangers wherein his
' kingdom and people stand, and the necessity
' of hastening supplies hither, by all possible
' means for preservation of both; so as what-

' ever

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' ever become of our persons, our memory
 ' cannot be justly stained with so wretched a
 ' breach of faith and loyalty to the king our
 ' master, as to forbear representing thither
 ' the extremities wherein we are, whether we
 ' have the credit to be believed or no; and
 ' that we write truth, and most needful truth,
 ' will be found true, when perhaps we shall
 ' perish; and which is more considerable, the
 ' kingdom also for want of being relieved
 ' and succoured in time. And so we remain,

Your lordship's to be commanded,

William Parsons,

John Borclay,

Ormonde Offory,

Robert Dillon,

Char. Lambert,

Adam Doftus,

John Temple,

Charles Coot,

Francis Willoughby,

Rob. Meredith,

From his majesty's castle of Dublin, 14 De-
cember, 1641.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BY our letters to your lordship of the 22^d
 of November, we did desire to be in-
 formed from thence, whether the parliament
 here being once prorogued, may not again be
 prorogued by proclamation before they sit,
 or whether it be of necessity that they must
 sit again, and the parliament to be prorogued
 the house sitting. And now that this rebel-
 lion hath over-spread the whole kingdom,
 and that many members of both houses are
 involved therein, so as the parliament cannot
 sit; we humbly desire to know his majesty's
 pleasure

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pleasure therein, and if his majesty shall think fit to porogue it, which at present we hold expedient, that then we may receive his commandment for prorogation, and that the doubt concerning that be cleared; for to assemble at that time, cannot be with safety.

Our letters of the third of December, have been hitherto with-held on this side by contraray winds.

In this most miserable condition, the lords justices and council continued shut up within the city of Dublin, struggling with all their power for a short preservation from those dismal calamities which had generally overspread the whole kingdom: their care, travel, and endeavours, had hitherto in some measure extended to the most remote parts; how they might assuage the swelling distempers, or yield some relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter out-cries daily brought up unto them. But now the evils abroad were grown past their cure; and their own dangers so multiplied, as they were enforced to spend their time almost in a perpetual consultation, never at rest, sometimes raised in the night by sudden advertisements, always in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatned on every side, so as what through treachery within or from without, they had just reason to apprehend the loss of the city and castle wherein they had enclosed themselves, and so consequently the ruin and destruction of all the British and protestants throughout all other parts of the kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant gentleman and gallant commander sir Simon

Harcourt,

The arrival
of sir Simon
Harcourt
with forces
out of Eng-
land.

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Harcourt, who being designed governour of the city of Dublin, was dispatched away by special order of parliament with his regiment for the preservation of that place, and landed here on the last of December, 1641, to the great joy and comfort of all his majesty's protestants, and well affected subjects, and to the terrour of those rebels now in arms, who had made themselves believe that no succour would be sent out of England towards the suppression of their notorious rebellion.

And now my intentions were to have proceeded further on in setting down what hath fallen out within the next four months, and to have added a brief account of all such particular passages as have been acted during the space of those six months within all the severall counties of this kingdom, and so having recollected and presented as it were at one view the publick calamities and miserable desolations of all the four provinces there, to have sat down and made the first period of this story.

But I must here take up, being unexpectedly called away; I resolve therefore patiently to attend the restoring of this kingdom and the resettlement of our affairs; and then if I find not this work undertaken and perfected by some more skilful hand, I shall hope to get the rest of my tailing together, and make such further provision of all other materials as may enable me to go through with the same.

In the mean time it will not be amiss to take notice, that the rebels within very few months after their breaking out, had so ordered their affairs, as that by their sudden surprises, their sharp and bloody executions,
- their

their barbarous stripping, and despoiling of all sorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the inland counties of all the British inhabitants: and except some few castles and other places of strength which they held severally besieged, and had most of them suddenly after surrendered for want of relief, they had in a manner made themselves absolute masters in all those parts of the kingdom. And for the maritime places, there were only some of the chief cities which were held out against them, besides some few other forts and places of no great importance: as in the province of Leinster, the city of Dublin; and in the province of Munster, the cities of Cork, Youghall, and Kinsale; in Ulster, Londonderry, Colraine and Caregfergus: and all these they held either besieged, much distressed, or they were otherways so over-pestered with the multitudes of poor stripped people fled to them for safety, as they were confident they could not long hold out, but that either open force, treachery, famine, or sickness would within a short time inevitably put them into their hands.

Thus it pleased God to humble his own people in this land, and for their sins to give them up into the power of their cruel enemies, who began now to sacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their victories: and upon the prosperity of their undertakings and late success, they were become so confident of prevailing even to the total extirpation of all the British and protestants out of this kingdom, as they proceeded to set down a certain form of government, nominated the persons whom they intended to entrust with the management of their affairs,

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fairs, what laws they would have revoked, what statutes newly enacted: and in the mean time they erected a council, which they stiled the supreme council, which they invested with absolute power and authority to order and govern the whole kingdom.

This consisted of certain noblemen, gentlemen, three or four lawyers, and one physician, who being elected unto this charge, had the place of their residence appointed unto them at Kilkenny, a city in the province of Leinster, where they sat ordinarily for the dispatch of all the great and weighty affairs of their state: they there erected several courts of judicature, they made a new broad seal, appointed several great officers of state, coined money, settled an excise upon all kind of commodities, and performed many other acts of regal power.

Now how they proceeded on in the ordering these their great affairs, what councils they took, what means they used to enable themselves to make opposition against the forces sent over by the parliament of England into all the four provinces of Ireland, I shall here forbear to speak of. These particulars must be reserved for the ensuing part of this story, where they will most properly fall in to be related: and where likewise, we shall find so strange a turn, such a remarkable declination of their power, their hearts failing them for fear, their councils infatuated, their designs blasted, their forces routed, their sieges raised, such a general defaultance and inprosperity in all their undertakings, as we must needs give glory to our maker, and acknowledge that God hath most wonderfully wrought

wrought for the deliverance of the poor small remnant of his people, which were here shut up and designed to the slaughter.

For after a considerable number of horse as well as foot sent over by the parliament of England arrived at Dublin, and had in some petty encounters thereabouts tried the metal of the rebels, and found their spirits of a poor and base alloy, they began extremely to disvalue them, and would be no longer abused with the fabulous reports of their great strength or numbers, which with much advantage they had long made use of: therefore now they began to seek them out in all places, and wheresoever they came to meet with them, they always prevailed even with small numbers very often against great multitudes of them, sparing not many times to pursue them into the midst of their greatest fastnesses, and made the very bogs and woods unsafe receptacles for their broken troops. And with so great success was the war prosecuted by the English from the first landing of their forces out of England until the treaty of that most unhappy cessation concluded in Sept. 1643, as that in all the encounters they had with the rebels during that time, they never received any scorn or defeats, but went on victoriously, beating them down in all parts of the kingdom: and so they carried on their work before them without any assistance either from the meer Irish or the English-Irish: for I cannot myself remember any gentleman of quality throughout the whole kingdom that was there born and bred up a papist, that put himself into that service, or desired to be listed as a member of the English army. It is true, some of the com-

THE IRISH REBELLION.

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men soldiers there, were of the English-Irish that came in; and though they were not considerable for their number, yet they did good service, and still with much fury and sharpness followed on upon the execution.



F I N I S.

A
L E T T E R

O F

Sir HENRY TICHBORNE,

T O H I S

L A A D Y,

O F T H E

SIEGE of TREDAGH;

A N D

OTHER PASSAGES

O F T H E

WARS of IRELAND;

Where he Commanded.

E. I. R.

HENRY THOMPSON



JOHN THOMPSON

JOHN THOMPSON

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JOHN THOMPSON

LETTER

OF

Sir HENRY TICHBORNE,

To his LADY,

Of the SIEGE of TREDAGH;

And other Passages

Of the Wars of Ireland,

Where he Commanded.

My dearly beloved,

IT is not fame, report, nor testimony of others, but your own eyes have seen and beheld the wonderful mercies of God, and in your self experimented many deliverances from violence, death, and famine; neither need I put you in mind, or exhort you to a daily thankful commemoration of these blessings; for I know your piety, continual practice, and sincerity of heart, are full and perfect motives to lead you unto it. Yet not knowing whether I may have time to breath my last desires and affections in your ears, I have left this paper as a witness of them, wherein I exhort you to bear all crosses and calamities, that may befall you, with prudence, constancy of mind, and a religious respect,

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remembering

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remembering that there is nothing befalls us, but that which is predisposed by the almighty maker of all things, and that to our everlasting good and glory, if we make a right use and benefit of it. Be not sparing of God's blessings to communicate with the needy, when God gives them; "for with such sacrifices God is well pleased;" and you will find that the oyl in the cruise, and the meal in the barrel, will not be wasted until these days of calamity are passed over, and that God hath restored you to your former plenty. There is much due unto me, and peradventure you and your children may live in calmer and more prosperous seasons to partake of it. My papers I have left with you, and because you cannot remember, nor are privy to every circumstance, that may plead for some regard towards you, in relation to my carriage and the discharge of my duty, in the various occurrences of these late years; I shall in these ensuing lines set you down many of those things, wherein God hath blessed me with wonderful deliverance, and used my weakness as an instrument to manifest his mighty power.

The 23d of October, 1641, (as you may remember) I was living at Donfoghly within four miles of Dublin; and upon the general terror which was in the country, when all English and protestants forsook their habitations, and fled from the face of that horrid rebellion, I thought it not safe to remain alone behind them; but when, in the evening of the next day, I had scattered a party of rogues that lay lurking about my house, I retired with you and my family the same night to Dublin. The day following the

lord



lord justices and council sent for me before them, and after some debate of the condition of the time, and the quickest way to prevent the growing danger, it was concluded by the board, that I should forthwith raise a regiment of one thousand soldiers, and march with all expedition unto Drogheda; daily news of danger and eminent peril arriving from thence, with the suspected faith of the inhabitants. October 26 early in the morning, I began my levy, and using great diligence, with continual pains and travel, I completed, armed, and led my regiment to Drogheda within the space of nine days, where I entered very seasonably the fourth of November.

At Drogheda I met many strange reports of the rebels number and advance, and these reports were daily strengthened with false intelligence by some that were employed in the service, being in truth no other than rebels in their hearts and affections, as afterward plainly appeared by their flying from our party, and siding with the rebels: others that were new come, and strangers in these parts, though trusty, could make no full discovery of the rebels strength, approach, or intention. Twice upon intelligence I sent and went forth with a convenient party to fall on a quarter of the rebels, but found myself deluded; and to have left the town with the whole forces (as I conceive was the aim of my intelligencers) had been in a sort to put it into the rebels hands, the malignant party being strong and powerful in it, and discovering themselves and their ill intentions daily more and more; which when I had advertised to Dublin, the lords justices appointed six hundred new levied men to come

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from thence, who setting forth about the same time when the northren rebels drew near unto Drogheda, through some mis-carriage on the way, though they had seasonable notice to prevent it, yet were they met with by the rebels, totally routed, and most of them lost.

This disaster befalling us, the rebels believed themselves masters of the whole country, and our bosom enemies did no longer disguise themselves, for the whole Pale that seemed to waver, and in a sort to detect the rebellion, declared for them, and immediately joined with the northern rebels; whereupon ensued the siege of Drogheda, which had not continued long, when I viewing the provision of victuals and the grain within the walls, I easily observed that in a short time we should be distressed for want of provisions; and perceiving there was a pretty quantity of corn in stack at Green-hills, about half a mile without the east-gate, and that the rebels were quartered a mile from it; on a morning betimes I caused carriages to be prepared, drew the whole garrison into arms, and disposing two hundred foot and a troop of horse under the conduct of serjeant major Lovell, with instruction to issue forth at one gate; I took the like number of horse and foot, and went suddenly forth at the gate that led directly unto the place; and before I was advanced a little above half way I met an Irish woman that lived without the walls, who told me, that part of the Irish army, at least three thousand were marching toward me, a thing I little credited, because I had sent forth scouts, and a lieutenant of foot with thirty musketeers

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musketeers to possess a ground of advantage before me. But I was little farther advanced, when the scouts returned full of fear, and the lieutenant with his musketeers in great amazement, blowing, sweating, and imprudently, before he came close unto me, declared in the audience of all the soldiers, that there were at least four thousand of the enemy hard at hand, and that we were in danger to be enclosed of them coming several ways. 'Nothing is more dangerous than reports of this nature, in the hearing of the soldiers, which of what condition soever, should always be privately delivered to the commander.' And thus far I did experiment it at this time, that the lieutenant's timorous report, drove some, both horse and foot, to forsake me, and seek their safety within the walls, and had almost wrought a general terror. But I told them, considering the ground, we were strong enough to oppose ten thousand; and that they ought not to be dismayed, for the lieutenant surpriz'd with fear had augmented the enemies number, and blinded him so much, that he could not distinguish between the enemy and our own forces, those being no other than our own whom he saw coming behind us another way, and were appointed by me to be our seconds. With much ado, this persuasion re-assur'd the soldiers, and caused them to stand, and for the more safety I sent into the town for some troops I had left in arms on the market place: but before the soldiers were confirmed, and fully prepared to oppose the rebels, they came upon us with a great shout, and gave fire: at the second firing our men answered them in the like kind;

THE HISTORY OF THE

kind; and in the midst of the smoak, I called out aloud, "they run, they run;" which took the desired effect, was believed by those in the rear, and seconded by them all with the like cry: and though it appeared something otherwise upon the clearing up of the smoak, and after a charge, that the rebels gave thick fire out of an ambush, yet our musketeers on the higher bank set bravely forward, when they saw me alighted from my horse to partake in such adventure as should befall them; and the rebels, who were staggered with the former cry, betook themselves to their heels in general. Our men had the execution of them about three quarters of a mile, the rest of their army looking on us at a distance, as they were drawing together to make resistance: and when I perceived all the rebels in arms, I retreated in an orderly way, and saw all the soldiers in safety within the gates before me. Of the rebels there were about two hundred slain, a priest and three captains, and one of the O'Neals that was serjeant-major general of their northern army: of our men four only hurt, and two horses shot in this service; for God fought for us, and from this time forth so dismayed the rebels, that afterwards they never stood before us.

On St. Thomas's eve, at one of the o'clock at night, the rebels came to assault the town, and fell on with a great shout; but we were prepared for them, and gave them such entertainment as belonged to unwelcome guests, whereby they lost many, and toward the morning withdrew to their quarters. On New-year's day, early in the morning, I sent forth a party which killed some of the rebels, burnt their quarter

SIEGE OF DROGHEDA.

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quarters, and retreated with the loss of but one man.

The 7th of January, a little before day, I drew forth three troops, consisting of eighty good horse or thereabouts, with three hundred choice foot, in two bodies, and a forlorn of fifty musketeers to fall on the rebels quarter at Ramullan without St. John's port; where, after a little resistance, their barricadoes and breast-works were forced, their quarter entered, and an hundred of them at the least slain upon the place, many driven by heaps into the river and drowned, and amongst those one Art Roe Mac-Mahon, a prime man, and much lamented by them; and whilst we were in pursuit, and firing the quarter, a full body of the rebels (the day being now broken) appeared from Platten and other places, marching towards us; these I thought fit to meet and charge with my reserve, whilst the soldiers were drawing off, and retiring from the former chace, and by God's singular blessing (to whose glorious working all these actions are to be wholly ascribed) we suddenly routed them, and killed above forty on the place, not adventuring to pursue them far, because the rebels were numerous, and gotten into arms throughout all their quarters. The soldiers brought off many muskets and corselets, a few cows, and some other plunder.

The rebels failing of other hopes, laboured to stop the channel, and hinder our relief by water; but God disappointed them, and opened the way unto us; for the 11th of January, our shipping came from the Skerries in one tide to the quay; a rare matter, and hardly known in the memory of man. That night I exhorted the officers to be very vigilant

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lant on their guards, because the rebels might conceive us joyful and secure upon our received relief; and I could not go that night abroad according to my custom, in regard I had several dispatches to make to Dublin; and the shipping were the next day to return in case the wind favoured them, which I would in no sort be a hindrance unto. How my orders were observed or neglected I will not mention, but about four of the clock the next morning, as I was busily writting, I heard three muskets go off, and soon after two others; and, as I apprehended (notwithstanding the stormy weather) a kind of muttering noise; whereupon I started from the table, snatched up my pistols, and called to those about me to follow me with speed, for I believed that the rebels were gotten into the town: and coming forth of doors, I called unto a court of guard that was on the town wall near my lodging, and willed them to increase the alarm, and give fire athwart the river, because I believed the rebels to be entered on that side the quay; and then running with all speed towards the bridge, when I was about half way, the rebels gave a great shout. At the foot of the bridge I found a guard of my own company settling themselves to their arms; those I drew forth, and placed to maintain the bridge until I should instantly return unto them: and then making haste to the main-guard, I found not there that vigilancy I expected; but increasing the alarm, with such small strength as I could suddenly gather, I returned and found my ensign newly engaged with the rebels at the end of the bridge; him I relieved, and God prospered us so well, with the concourse of officers and
soldiers,

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foldiers, that finally we scattered them, and had the killing of many, and took above fifty prisoners. God's workings are wonderful, and oftentimes, especially in matters of war, produce great effects out of small and contemptible means: this night my man following of me hastily with my horse out of my lodging, the horse being unruly at the best, suddenly broke loose, and made such a noise in running and galloping madly upon the stones in the dark streets, it put the rebels to a stand, believing we were better prepar'd to welcome them than in truth we were, and thereby afforded us something the more leisure to entertain them, as by God's blessing we did.

The 7th of February I made a sally on the north-side of the town, fir'd two or three of their lodgings, and recovered a little forage and provision to refresh us a few days: the rebels drew forth from Bewly their head quarters, with a body of five hundred or thereabouts, but upon my advance with the like number, and skirmishing with them in their fastness, they retreated with a little loss, which greatly emboldened our soldiers for future services, who received no loss at all. That night I sent forth a party of musketeers to fall on a court of guard of the rebels, which they effected with the slaughter of the centinels and some others. February the 11th in the afternoon, upon intelligence that the rebels had removed from one of their quarters, and left it void for the lodging of others that were to arrive that day out of the North, I thought it a fit opportunity to issue suddenly out of the town, with intent to recover part of their provisions, and to fire the rest, that could not
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be brought away, together with their quarter; and to that end, I drew forth a party of five hundred to confront the rebels head quarter at Bewly, and sent lieutenant Greenham, a resolute commander, with sixty musketeers, and thirty horse under the conduct of cornet Constable, to guard those that were directed to spoil the quarter; who coming thither, and finding the place empty, some of the foot, at least twenty, with part of the horse, lading themselves with sheaves of corn, and such other things as they met with, returned home-wards; when suddenly there appeared before the remainder of the horse and foot a body of four hundred rebels, come forth of the North to possess that quarter; whereupon they retreated a little, and drew themselves into good order. About that instant I had with seven or eight horse in my company left the body of five hundred confronting Bewly, and being on my way towards them, I received the news of the rebels approach: forthwith I sent direction for one hundred and fifty soldiers to be drawn quietly out of the body, and to follow me. The advertisement of this being delivered to lieutenant Greenham, with my approach, I being then come in sight of him, caused him without delay to fall on the rebels; and I commanded cornet Constable to do the like with the horse, keeping by me a reserve of ten horse to second him, if occasion were: for things being come to that pinch, admitted no debate, but a speedy hazard. The rebels terrified and amazed with this sudden and unexpected assault, were soon routed by this party alone, before the others I had appointed for their assistance were come up to them. There were slain of the rebels seventy-

venty-three, with capt. Owen, a follower of the earl of Tyrone in queen Elizabeth's time, a lieutenant and an ensign. There were taken two colours, one ensign, three serjeants, nine prisoners. One of them that appeared a man of note, died the same night of his wounds.

Two days after (for now we were ever in action) upon notice of a prey that might with some hazard be probably gained, I sent forth captain Patrick Trevor on sunday morning, a little before day, and marched after him myself with another party, to relieve and bring him off as occasion should serve: he behaved himself so well, that he took the prey of eighty cows and about two hundred sheep; and though the rebels on both hands bestowed many shot and shouts upon us, yet we receiv'd no loss or considerable hurt, but came in time to serve and praise God in the congregation that morning.

On sunday the 21st of February, about four of the clock in the morning, sir Phelim O Neal attempted the town with scaling ladders, and had raised several against the wall with much silence, hoping to make his entry on the back of my lodging, where the wall was lowest: but the centinel discerning one of them mounted on the top of the ladder, ready to surprize him, knockt him down with the butt-end of his musket, and called out to the court of guard, who issuing suddenly forth, easily repelled the rest, insomuch that they left thirteen of their scaling ladders behind them; and being well plyed with shot from the walls, divers were hurt and slain, as a boy reported who was drummer to sir Phelim O Neal, and had made his escape from him that morning. About noon the same day,

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Day, we received another relief of men and victuals that arrived wonderfully in one tide, as the former had done, by God's singular providence.

The 27th of February, desirous to repair a small loss I had received of boys and women that went a foraging to Bewbeck, I issued forth to the same place with two new companies lately come from Dublin, fifty musketeers of the old garrison, and one hundred and twenty horse in four troops; and possess'd the same ground where the party stood that I had sent forth eight days before, for the guard of the foragers: and after I had directed the foragers that went with me, how to demean themselves on the rebels approach, and appointed the pioneers to bury the dead, I spent much of the day there before the corn was brought quite away into the town. The rebels drew forth into a body of five or six hundred, under five colours, right against me, at a pretty distance; and another body of two or three hundred on my right hand, keeping the same distance: whose motion, when I had long attended in vain, and evening growing fast, I turned on my left hand towards the way that led to Dublin, where the rebels held an usual guard, and which I intended to visit; but my scouts were sent forth on all sides to observe the rebels motions. I had not marched much more than a musket shot when my scouts came posting in, and assured me, that the rebels were advancing toward me in great haste, and that there was but the ridge of an hill between them and us: I presently ordered my men, as I conceived, for the best advantage; sent immediately into the the town for seconds,

conds, if need should require; and because most of my foot were new-comers, I told them briefly as the shortness of the time would give me leave, that I was glad of this occasion, wherein they that were lately come should have the experience of such adventures, as we who were formerly here had often tried, and by God's continual blessing us, beaten the rebels on greater disadvantages than now appeared. I besought them only to be courageous; for if there were a fainting among them, I would rather endeavour (and I doubted not to do it) to draw them from the trial in safety, than expose them to imminent danger. The soldiers gave a chearful answer of resolution and readiness to meet the rebels, and marched fiercely towards them; which taken notice of by the rebels, by such time as we were gotten to the ridge of the hill, they were sunk down again almost to the foot of it, where were many rows of great furze fit to cover an ambush, and at first I apprehended that might be their purpose of retreat, to draw me into unexpected danger: but when I had beheld them a little while, and observed their motion, and discerned them in some disorder, and that their officers were beating them with their swords to force them forwards; I found the time fit for my purpose, and called to hasten the charge, for the rebels were dismayed, and running before we came at them: and to make my words good, they made few shot before they totally disbanded and every man shifted for himself. I caused a party of horse to meet them at the bridge of Gillianstown, near the place where our six hundred men, sent at first to assist us, were
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unhappily defeated; and there, in the same field and about it, three hundred and upwards of the rebels were slain, and two colours taken.

The first of March, I sent forth sir John Borlace with four companies of foot, and one troop of horse, to forage the south-side of the river towards Colpe, from whence a good quantity of corn was brought into the garrison. And in the afternoon I took two other companies of foot, and a troop of horse, accompanied with the lord Moore; and as we were advancing something farther toward the Inche, there came a messenger hastily unto me, and told me, that sir John Borlace met with some resistance at Colpe, at an old tower, which he attempted to take; and that many of the rebels were come from the north-side of the river in a ferry-boat, and entered into Stamine, whereby it was supposed they would attempt something against those that were before Colpe. On this advertisement my lord Moore and myself returned, and finding no appearance of the rebels intention to do any thing, the evening being come on, I prepared to march home: and leaving the lord Moore, I went towards sir John Borlace before Colpe, where by the way I was advertised that the rebels were fallen out of Stamine with two hundred foot, to surprize those before Colpe; I instantly directed captain Billingsly to take eighty musketeers, and fall up to the side of the way, where there was the advantage of a ditch; and with such horse as were with me, I made directly to an open place, though somewhat about; and by that time I came in sight of the rebels, captain Billingsly and they were exchanging

SIEGE OF DROGHEDA.

changing some shot; but upon the approach of the horse coming on with a round charge, the rebels fled again into Stamine, and by the way there was slain of them a lieutenant, thirteen soldiers, and a captain of the O Neals wounded and taken prisoner; and if my horse had not been bogged with some others, being ignorant of the ways, I believe many more had been slain, and the place taken the same night, with many of their commanders in it, who stole away before the next morning to the other side of the river with sir Phelim O Neal, who during the conflict was fled, crept, and hid in a furze-bush, as I was afterwards informed: and thus the south-side of the river was wholly cleared of the rebels, and plenty of corn and food began to be amongst us.

The several happy successes against the rebels stirred the lord Moore and other officers of quality, to crave that they might have competent forces assigned them to fall on the rebels quarter at Tullahallen; which I readily assented to, and caused four hundred foot and most of the horse, to be in a readiness to issue forth under the lord Moore's command: which was no-sooner done, but that I immediately caused three hundred foot and fifteen horse remaining behind, to march forth under my own leading after them; for I considered that the rebels head quarter was at Bewly, that they had another quarter at Carlstown and Carlington; all which might with convenience fall in the rear of the lord Moore, and give assistance to their partners at Tullahallen: and as I supposed, by that time I was come near unto Kilanure, I could discern the rebels all upon their march; but

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they perceiving my strength, which were so placed, that at a distance they appeared double the number, stood still at a gaze, and went no farther: until within a short time, news came to me of the prosperous success of the lord Moore, who with the other officers behaved themselves with such valour and courage, that they forced the rebels from a place of advantage which they had betaken themselves unto, and killed four hundred upon the place, with seven captains, and Art Roe Mac Mahon taken prisoner, whose head was valued in the proclamation to the taker or bringer in of him, at four hundred pound; and several others comprehended in the proclamation, were slain or taken by us without note or recompence. I finding the work done, without need of my assistance, turned myself with the party that I led, towards those rebels that shewed themselves imbodied at a distance, but I found they had no mind to engage; whereupon I burnt Newtown and other of their lodgings, and so returned into the town.

The evening after this day's glorious work, wherein God, as in former times, sent us great deliverance, the rebels abandoned their head quarter at Bewly, and the villages adjoining unto it, and marched secretly away to Dundalk, whereof I had speedy notice, and sent forth a party the same night to possess Bewly, and to remain in garrison in it, thereby preventing the rebels, who repenting of their sudden departure, within less than an hour after my men were entered, returned thither to repossess the place; but finding unexpected opposition, forsook the attempt with the loss of two of their men.

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The next morning I rounded the country two or three miles about, saw many rebels on hills and places afar off, but as I made towards them they always avoided me. The country was left full of corn, and stored with cattle, which afforded us plentiful relief. A few days after I summoned Platten, a strong castle garrisoned by the rebels, within two miles of Drogheda, but was not listened unto; yet three days after I returned thither stronger and better prepared to force them, then I was at the first; and finally, I received it on composition, that the garrison should depart unarmed, and carry away some few goods and provisions with them. Before the surrender of this place, the marquis of Ormonde was marched forth of Dublin, to come to our relief; and though he were advertised by the way, of God's blessings upon us, yet he came forwards to rejoice with us in our deliverance, and to see the state of affairs among us, with intention to prosecute the northern rebels until they were utterly destroyed: but the state conceiving it too hazardous, withcalled him from the enterprise, and sent me likewise directions to adventure no farther abroad than so as I might return the same day, and lodge in safety within the walls. My lord returned as he was required, and I by my letters besought the council to withdraw their strict limitation, in case they expected action from me, and conceived me capable after so many trials and hazards to do them service. Upon this I was left again to my own way of proceeding, with a grave and sound advice to be vigilant and careful in all my undertakings. The day following, early in the morning, I

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marched forth accompanied with the lord Moore, and a competent strength of horse and foot, unto Barnwell's of Rahaskers house, and found him not drest, misdoubting no visitation of that kind; a little resistance I found, but after a while he was contented to surrender, on promise that he might be a prisoner left unto the law, and not presently put to death; for this Barnwell had served beyond seas, was a colonel amongst the rebels, and on whose head was set four hundred pound, as a recompence for any that brought him in dead or alive. That day, as I returned, I burnt some villages, took a large prey in cattle and sheep, to the great satisfaction of the soldiers, who now fed plentifully after their long penury and want.

At this time there was a great rumour that the rebels would return to the siege of Drogheda, and that O'Reily with his Cavan forces, consisting of two thousand men, were that night to be lodged at Slane within five miles of us. This intelligence was delivered me about nine of the clock in the morning, and whether framed by the rebels to terrify me, or really believed by the reporter, I know not; but I, that I might not lose the advantage of time, caused five hundred foot, with all the horse, to be instantly in arms, and accompanied with the lord Moore, I marched unto the place, entered the town, took the castle, which the soldiers pillaged, and fired the houses, that it might remain no future shelter for the rebels. Three days after, being still alarmed with the rebels forces, which were famed to be many, and lodged at Atherdee, eight miles from Drogheda; and I, being desirous to understand the certainty

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tainty of their strength and condition, which in regard of the infidelity of divers natives which I employed for intelligence (wanting better) I could not readily obtain, I drew forth twelve hundred foot and four troops of horse, intending to discover it myself; and the 21st of March, with two days provision of victual, meaning within that space to return, I marched to Slane, and reduced that castle, which the rebels had again repossessed, and did some other things there which were formerly left imperfect. The same night I went two or three miles farther to lodge in a place of some strength four or five miles sideways from Atherdee. The rebels appeared in clusters on several hills about me, but their footmanship or vigilance failed them, for the horse I sent forth surprized and overtook many of them, putting them to the sword before they could recover a place of safety.

The next morning I set forward on my first design, with intention only to discover the enemies strength, and not to advance my body of foot nearer than within two miles of Atherdee, that I might secure my forces upon the passes, and other places of advantage, in case I found the rebels, as was reported, (though I could hardly believe it) much too strong to be dealt with: but my scouts gone forth, and also a party of horse with thirty musketeers to secure a pass; after a march of two miles they discovered the rebels from the top of a steep hill in two divisions, in the valley beneath, consisting, as they supposed, of two thousand five hundred foot, and a body of horse near unto them. Upon this advertisement I ordered one hundred and twenty choice musketeers to be drawn forth

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and to follow me with speed, and join with the thirty musketeers which were before them; and that the rest of the foot should advance after them a moderate pace. I took all the horse with me, and went to the top of an hill where I had a full sight of the rebels, whose foot were not less than two thousand, as was afterwards confest by some of themselves. Their horses appeared in sight to be fewer than ours, tho' there was present Sir Phelim O Neale, the lord of Louth, and divers of the nobility and prime gentry of the Pale, with many chief commanders of the northern rebels. I considered their number and order, and apprehending a fair possibility of routing them, commanded the horse to follow me down the hill: the officers at first conceived some danger in it, but when I shewed them it was observable that the rebels were irresolute in their purposes, and that upon the sight of us they had not advanced one foot forward, tho' in regard of the ground before us, they might have done it with advantage to themselves, in case that they had resolved meaning to engage us; and that when we were down the hill we could not be prejudiced by them, except by some shot at random; and if the rebels should retire, we had fit ground and opportunity to charge them; if they abode, I doubted not by God's assistance to do it with safety when the foot were come up to us. Hereupon we went down the hill, and by this time the one hundred and fifty musketeers I had ordered to follow me a swift pace, were come up to me; I took of them a small party, and caused them to give fire upon a hedge and ditch that was near a musket shot right before one of the rebel's

rebel's divisions of foot, mistrusting some ambush, which upon the fire given immediately discovered itself, and began to retire; whereupon I perceived their divisions to waver, and incline towards a retreat; and being loth to lose the opportunity, I caused my other musketeers to advance, and the horse to offer a charge, which their horse intending not to abide, gained their security by speedy flight, and their foot with little dispute followed after them. Their horse abandoned the field the sooner, because they could discern that I had sent forth a party of horse towards the other end of the town to intercept their flight, the thing it seems they chiefly intended, in case they met with any opposition. There were slain of their foot several officers of note, and at least six hundred private soldiers.

In prosecution of this victory which God had given us, I found a stop at the gate, which the rebels had closed at the end of the bridge leading into the town, and from thence pleyed us with some shot; but as soon as I had drawn a party of musketeers to play upon them, I found their shooting abated, inso-much, that I adventured over the bridge to the gate, and through the chinks I saw it was barricaded with stones; but upon the right hand of the bridge I perceived a ford, which I returned unto, and ordering the horse to follow me, I entered, and charged thro' the town, where, at the end without the gate, the enemies horse appeared to us again, standing in good order, and, as we conceived, near unto us; but upon the matter, through the advantage of a bog, they were at least half a mile from us; neither intended they a nearer

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nearer distance, for being most of them men of quality, and all well mounted, they betook themselves immediately to their speed, and were pursued by captain Marrow above three miles in vain. Some stragglers were snatched up, and between sixty and seventy slain on the bog on the other side of the town; and many others had run the same fortune, but that most of my foot were busie in pillaging the town, and could not be gotten together in convenient time to prosecute the service.

At Atherdee I rested the next day, being the 24th of March, and rode only with a party of horse three or four miles farther into the country; and had a sight of many rebels afar off, but met with no opposition from any of them.

That evening I moved the lord Moore and other chief officers to give me their advice touching a desire I had of prosecuting this victory God had given us, as far as Dundalk; for it was evident that the rebels were terrified and amazed through this sudden and unexpected overthrow befallen them, and to follow them close would deprive them of present counsel and assurance in the way of defence. The lord Moore and all the officers embraced the motion with much cheerfulness, and so the next morning, being Friday, I marched unto Hagardstown, a village strongly seated within two little miles of Dundalk, and lodged there that night.

The next morning we set forwards towards Dundalk, and sir Phelim O Neal with his horse, shewed himself without the gate that was next unto us; and I supposed he would likewise have drawn forth his foot, to meet us in the field, because he could have trebled the

the strength that was with me: but upon my nearer approach, sir Phelim perceiving I would not forsake my advantage through fear of the number that were with him, he retired within the gates, and there attended my coming, giving fire from the walls, which continued thick for a while, until the valour of the officers and soldiers brought them under the walls of the suburbs, where in short time they forced open the gate, and entered both horse and foot: but the rebels that had before shewed great stands of pikes, were almost wholly retired into the inner town, and left a castle well manned in the midst of the suburbs, which castle did much annoy us; and it was the opinion of many, that we had proceeded already beyond expectation, and that we might with honour forsake the enterprize. But my desire was otherwise, the rather, because it pleased God to send a sudden strong and favourable wind, which, when I had fired the suburbs, drove the smoak violently into the town, greatly annoying the rebels and furthering my design, insomuch that under coverture of the smoak, I made use of my pioneers with less danger, and by degrees got close under the castle, and heaped up much combustible stuff against the door and fired it; which caused the defendants to abandon their arms, and shift for themselves, but little to the safety of the most of them. In the castle I placed some musketeers to give fire on the enemy in the market place; and the smoak of the suburbs abating, I could see many rebels, for my greater encouragement, running forth at the north-side of the town; whereupon I sent captain Marrow with a party of horse towards

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wards that place, and followed after him myself with a few horse, leaving direction with lieutenant colonel Biron to do the like with my division of foot. When I came to the side, I might see sir Phelim O Neal with his crew on horseback, on the top of an hill on the other side the river, too far to be dealt withal; therefore I willed lieutenant-colonel Biron to fall on that part of the town where the wall was low and decayed, and had little other defense than a graff with water not impassable; but on the sudden I could hear one calling behind me, that Marrow was charged by one hundred and twenty horse, and distressed: whereupon I caused the foot to make a stand, and returned to the relief of Marrow, whom I met soon after coming from the chace of the rebels, having met with no opposition. This false alarm being over, I pursued my former purpose, and willed the foot to proceed; and taking captain Marrow and those horse with me, I passed suddenly to the north-gate, at which the rebels run out: the gate I found open, and many unarmed people hastening forth: those we went regardlessly through, and made up to the market-place, where I found no resistance, every one having shifted for himself; only the musketeers which I placed in the castle in the suburbs did a little annoy us, mistaking us for the enemy, until I made them understand the contrary by signs, and also sending unto the lord Moore and the other officers that I was entered and possessed of the town.

Afterward I commanded all the horse and foot to march in, and draw up in order in the market-place, and I caused the quarter-masters

masters to divide the town into quarters, proportionable to the companies of horse and foot; and what booty was in any quarter, that I left to the officers and soldiers that were quartered in it, by a proportionable dividend amongst them, whereby the confusion and contention about pillaging was taken away, and I had the soldiers in a readiness to answer the rebels motion and attempts, who rumoured great words, and still swarmed very thick in those parts: the number of the slain I looked not after, but there was little mercy shewed in those times.

When the news of this success came to Dublin, the state apprehended that I was engaged into too imminent danger, and partly sent me advice to abandon the place, which town being of importance for the service, I neither thought it fit nor honourable to do, except I received a positive command and direction to that purpose; for I was confident to hold it against all the rebels forces that durst appear before it: besides, I conceived the ten thousand Scots would not be idle when they should hear that I was advanced so far north-ward, with an handful of men in comparison of their numbers. The rebels were soon grown numerous again by the access of some northern forces to their aid, and lodged in a strong castle towards the Fews, about four miles from Dundalk; there I faced them several days, but they never adventured beyond their fastness more than once, and that a little way with a party of horse, which I caused to be soon met with (by God's continual blessing) to their disadvantage, and killing a few (for they had a bog to friend) took Toby Guinne, a special favourite

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vourite of sir Phelim O Neal, prisoner: this man had been bred amongst us, and married to an Englishman's daughter, but now a degenerated, active, and notorious rebel; in which respect, notwithstanding many promises of large ransom or exchanges, I caused him to be presently hanged in the sight of sir Phelim O Neal and his battalions.

About this time I had the news of the Scots coming towards Newry; and the next day I drew my foot upon the strand towards Carlingford, that the rebels scouts might discern them marching, though I had no intention to leave Dundalk naked, in the view of sir Phelim O Neal and his rebel companions on the other side: but taking the horse with me, and giving order to the foot to return, as soon as I was out of sight, I went streight to Carlingford, with intention to summon the place, which I believed upon their scouts report of my foot following after me, would occasion them to surrender on easy conditions; but it appeared their terror was too great to abide our coming, for drawing near, I saw the town on fire, and hastening thither a party of my horse, they overtook a sea captain and some of his men in the street running into the castle, believing us to be of the rebels, which when they found otherwise, it was much to their contentment. From this captain I understood that lying with his ship in the harbour to attend the Scots motion with necessaries, that that morning the town and castle were hastily fired by the inhabitants themselves, and they all fled into the mountains; and that an English-woman or two that had escaped the general slaughter, were gotten into the castle, had hindred the fire in what they could, and wasted

waisted him thither, where he came, and found the state of things to be as I then found them. I wished him to make the best advantage of what the rebels had left behind, and to secure the castle with a guard until I could send a captain of foot to take it into his charge, having no other than horse with me at that time. This he undertook to do, and performed it accordingly.

Upon my return the same night, I received a letter from the lord Conway, inviting me to visit him and major-general Monroe at the Newry, that we might advise of a farther prosecution of the rebels. The day following I went thither with two troops of horse and a troop of dragoons; and upon conference I conceived their intention and resolution was, at my parting, to march unto Armagh, to chase the rebels out of all their fastnesses, and to clear the north: but a few days after I received another letter from the lord Conway, that they had deserted that design for the present, and were returning back again, in respect their victuals was spent unto five days.

A while afterwards the Scots were earnest with me to deliver the castle of Carlingford into their hands; which had been a great weakness in me to do, as it was presumption in them to desire, without the direction of the state.

Sir Phelim O Neal and his partisans grew very jolly upon the Scots return, and persuaded themselves of doing great matters against me: but their courage proved to be only in words, for I drew forth some days together into a convenient field near unto them; but finding that they did only put themselves in arms, and would no more now than formerly forsake

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forfake their strength to draw into equality of ground, notwithstanding their advantage of numbers, I concluded they were in another sort to be dealt with; and from thenceforth, for the most part, I fell every other morning into their quarters, and continued these visitations for several weeks together, with the slaughter of very many of them, especially the new plantation in the county of Monaghan, and at the taking in of Hary O'Neal's house in the Fews; insomuch, that by this course, and the like acted often by the garrison at Drogheda, there was neither man nor beast to be found in sixteen miles between the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk; nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the county of Monaghan, nearer than Carick-mac-Crois, a strong pile twelve miles distant.

And notwithstanding this continual travel abroad, I went forwards at home with the help of the officers and soldiers (wherein they chearfully concurred with me) to raise a parapet on one side of the town of Dundalk, (that was naked of other defence than a large grass with water) and to repair the walls on the other side that were greatly broken. I likewise cut off part of the town to make it more defensible with a large ditch and parapet; and made a draw-bridge, and raised two platforms to secure the curtains with three pieces of ordnance I had taken from the rebels: and all this was done without a penny charge to the state, or any allowance ever given me in consideration of it. Besides I laid in sixty tuns of coals for the courts of guard against winter, and gave such cattle as were due to me for my share in recompence of them: this was never by me accounted for. It may be farther

farther remembered, that for the space of seven months and upwards, from the beginning of the siege of Drogheda, I never received but five weeks means, all that were under my command living on such preys as were forced from the rebels. The country and fields about Dundalk were abounding in corn, which I allotted to the several companies, to be reaped by themselves, towards their present relief and future subsistence.

About the midst of June I went to Dublin, and after a few days stay I returned unto my charge, prosecuting the rebels, as I had formerly done. In August I went again to Dublin, and staying a short time there I came back to Drogheda, where I remained until the lord Liffle went forth with part of the army to remove the rebels from about Trim, in which expedition I waited on his lordship with five hundred choice foot; and that service ended by the rebels firing the castle they possessed, and retreating, and my lord's taking of Clone in the county of West-meath, burning the house at Lough Ramor and Virginia; and taking of Carrick-mac-Cross in the county of Monaghan, with great store of prey, and destruction of the rebels.

His lordship returned, and I attended him unto Drogheda, where I remained as in my place of settlement; for about this time the lord Moore received a commission from his majesty for the command of the county of Louth, and the barony of Slane; whereupon I surrendered the garrison of Dundalk, as comprized in that grant, with such corn, hay, and cattle as was provided for my own spending, eighty barrels of herrings, three hundred twenty four barrels of corn, near seventy tuns

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of coals in the store for the guards, the works about the town repaired and fortified as afore said, without one penny charge to the state. And from that time I applyed myself to the necessities of Drogheda, where the former plenty being now consumed, and little relief to be obtained from Dublin, I had many wants to contend with, which I endeavoured to remedy by drawing all the cattle and corn I could procure, into the store, and buying some with my ready money. And all this while, and to the concluding of the cessation, I never sold cow or barrel of bread-corn for my peculiar use, but turned all to the furtherance of the publick. And of other pillage I rarely received any; but left it for the most part entire to the officers and soldiers, who deserved greater recompence, adventuring themselves with much valour, resolution and patience in the daily prosecution of the service. Many of the rebels were slain at several times; but the most, and most remarkable during this winter, was at the mill of Kells, which they obstinately maintained.

In March the marquis of Ormonde led the army, with the flower of the garrison of Drogheda and other adjacent garrisons, towards Ross; and I receiving intelligence that the rebels intended to send of their Northern forces, to assist their party in those quarters against the marquis of Ormonde, I moved the lord Moore to draw the best strength he could conveniently from Dundalk; and sending for those that might be spared from Trim, I met them at Kells, the appointed rendezvous, with a party from Drogheda, where we made in all eleven hundred foot and one hundred and twenty horse. At Kells we took a few prisoners

prisoners that were not aware of their danger, and amongst them one Plunket a popish arch-deacon. Part of their Cavan forces were then near us, and sent a drummer pretending to treat an exchange or ransom of the arch-deacon: the drummer, as is the custom of such fellows, spoke much of the strength and valour of the Cavan men; and I, that I might make a little use of his errand, which was, as I conceived, rather (if he could) to discover our strength and intention, than to redeem the prisoners, told him, that I thought to have gone through Westmeath toward the county of Longford: but since he spoke so much of the number and courage of the Cavan forces near me, I would turn my course that way, lest I might be dishonoured in seeming to decline them, for fear of their power and ability to resist me. The drummer appearing to be perplexed, because his boasting was like to bring inconvenience upon his country, not formerly intended; wherefore I said farther (for I knew it would have wings when it came amongst them) that I would at least (that I might not appear to be terrify'd) lodge that night in the county of Cavan, it not being two miles out of my way into the county of Longford. And after we were all in a readiness to march I dismissed the drummer, cheerful in the apprehension that he had discovered so much of my purpose. That night we went eight miles into the county of Cavan, saw many rebels, but they knew their distance; yet at Lough Ramor, in an island, we lighted on the earl of Fingall's two children, thirty case of new pistols, with other goods, that could not be suddenly taken away when he fled from thence.

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That night, about one of the clock, the moon shining, we set forth towards the cavan, came thither seasonably the next day, and unexpected, the rebels being secure on their drummer's report that I intended another way; the town was soon abandoned, and every man shifted for himself. The next day the rebels were gotten together, fought with us at Ballyhays: afterwards at a bridge within three miles of Belturbet. We routed them at both places in one day, took two captains and several other prisoners, besides many of their soldiers and some remarkable men slain by us. We freed divers English that were in restraint among them, and killed a rebel as he was firing a house, where there were ten English shut up ready to be burnt. I staid two days entire in those parts, burnt Ballyhays, the Cavan, and other places, and then returned with a great prey; which served much to the relief of our several garrisons, in those days of exceeding wants and great extremities.

About the latter end of April, when I had prepared to fall into the county of Longford, I was fain to forsake that design, and to repair to Dublin, whether I was called by his Majesty's letter to be one of his Justices; a charge as far above my expectation or desire, as unsuitable to my parts or fortune: yet there being a necessity of my obedience, I framed my self to the best of my capacity to advance the public service, and finding the army in the highest extremity of want, all ways and means already sought and run through for their support, even to the seizing the native commodities of the Kingdom; hides, tallow, and such like, taken from ship-board after the customs paid, and exposed to sale.

sale. I was wonderfully perplexed, and Sir John Borlace, his Majesty's other justice, and my self, with the council, daily assembled: we spent the whole time in sending complaint into England, both to King and Parliament; in the mean time borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole board for money, and all sorts of victual and commodities convertible to the soldiers relief.

Amidst these extremities his Majesty's letter came over, signifying his Majesty's sorrow, and disability to relieve us, in regard of the troubles in England. All mens eyes were on the parliament, but no succours in those times arriving from thence to support the forces, his Majesty permitted a treaty to be had with the Irish touching a cessation of arms, in case all other helps were failing: which was generally so disagreeing to the board, that most of them desired to run any fortune and extremity of famishing, rather than yield unto it. And truly, I was so much of that opinion that when the Marquis of Ormonde made offer that if he might be advanc'd 10000 l. part victuals, part shoes and stockings, and part money, that he would immediately draw towards the rebels, and either compel them to run the hazard of the field, or to forsake their quarters, and leave them to the spoil of our soldiers, which might prove to them a future subsistence. And when Theodore Scout and the rest of the merchants of Dublin had refused to advance the money upon the security of all the lands of the whole board, and the customs of Dublin, for the interest of the money; I moved the board, there being at that time one and twenty counsellors present, and my self of meanest fortune

1641.

tune amongst them, that every one for himself, out of his peculiar means and credit, would procure 300l. which amongst us all would raise 6300l. For even with that sum and such means as the Marquis of Ormonde should procure himself, he offered to undertake the work, and that there should be no farther mention of a cessation amongst us. But this motion of mine finding no place, the cessation in short time began to be treated on, and was in sincerity of heart as much hindered and delayed by me, as was in my power; for I believed it would be hurtfull to the public, and therefore I cast in rubs to lengthen the treaty, expecting daily relief and money from England, whither Sir Thomas Wharton was employed with the sad stories of the public miseries. Thus was the cessation laid aside for a while, which was afterwards renewed at Gigenstown.

At that time Owen O'Neal fell into our quarters, and took several castles, for want of competent forces to oppose him, whereupon, understanding that Monroe with a flourishing army of Scots was in the county of Armagh, and in three days march might be brought to our assistance; I moved the board to write unto him, to advance his forces, and join with us against the common enemy. And because the message might be the better accepted, colonel Crawford was employed unto him with the aforefaid letter, and particular advice and perswasion from myself to hasten his coming. How colonel Crawford acquitted himself in the discharge of his trust, will best appear by Monroe's answer, who had formerly intimated unto the Lord Moore his voluntary readiness to joyn
with

with us; but now invited, and that by a power whereunto he was subordinate, he refused to come, because the marquis of Ormond had not signed the letter sent unto him, though he could not but be informed from colonel Crawford, that the marquis of Ormond was absent upon the treaty; and that the letter could not in convenience of time be transmitted unto him, returned and sent, with expectation of that speedy remedy we were necessarily to reap by it.

Now this hope failing, as a broken reed not to be relied on, colonel Monk was called from good success in the county of Wicklow, to join with the lord Moore for the succour of Meath, where the lord Moore was unhappily slain: yet the expectation of victual and relief from England stoped the hasty progress of the cessation, until the evening, as I take it, of the 11th or 12th of September, when a fleet of ships was discovered near the harbour, to the great joy of all honest hearts: but the next morning, one captain Dauske, that was come in with the fleet of provisions, and had landed the night before, returned early on shipboard, hoisted sail, forsook the harbour, and compelled seventeen barks laden with necessaries from Liverpool and other places, to do the like. On what ground or intelligence he did it, is yet unknown; but this so rare and unlooked for accident amazed all men, put the soldiers into a mutiny, and drew on a very unprofitable, and in my apprehension, a very dishonourable cessation to be concluded with the rebels, with very much dislike of most of those that were actors in the treaty.

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Sir John Borlace and myself continued the place of justices until about Christmas following, and then by his majesty's direction delivered up the sword to the marquis of Ormond; and I retiring myself to my former charge at Drogheda, laboured to support that garrison, that in due time it might be serviceable to the crown of England. And when the summer following the Scotch forces advanced into Westmeath, returned by our quarters, and lodged at Atherdee, though they profest themselves opposite to our party, and had proffered some acts of hostility, yet did I not forbid nor hinder provision to be sent unto them, as some snarlers at all my actions have untruly suggested: but the truth is, they abounded in all provisions, and staid at Atherdee but one night, infomuch that the drink and other necessaries that several persons of Drogheda had provided, could not come timely enough to them, as was desired.

About eight or ten days after that the Scotch army was returned into the North, the earl of Castlehaven and Owen Roe O Neal, with all the Irish strength, came unto Atherdee, and remained in those parts, as I remember, about fourteen days; and during the time of their abode, they required the benefit of the market, for the buying of such provisions as were needful for them, and that the town and garrison might spare: which demand agreeing with the article of cessation, could not be in reason absolutely denied by me, except I would draw their united forces on Drogheda, the garrison being weak, and unable to oppose them. And this was a thing that was proposed amongst

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mongst them by Owen Roe O'Neal, as I was informed. However, I cast in many rubs, and found several ways to delay their desire of commerce, until at last the earl of Castlehaven sent his lieutenant general to understand the reason of my Backwardness, and to expostulate the matter with me at large: and then indeed I had direction from Dublin to grant them their desire; whereupon I sent for Mr. Alderman Geves, the present mayor of the town, and told him in the presence of the lieutenant general, that the articles of the cessation afforded free traffick for either party; and that a provident care being in the first place taken for the necessities of the town, the benefit of the market might be granted unto those that were without; and the lieutenant general might appoint some one of the inhabitants of the town to buy such provisions for the use of the Irish army, as could conveniently be spared. Whereupon he named one Dardis, who came unto me to know whether he might with safety, and without future blame, be employed by them: and I told him, he might; for I was not willing that any of theirs should lodge in the town, or frequent our markets. The provision that they had, was most drink. Of 160 barrells of wheat bought for their use, I caused the moiety to be stoped. Some oatmeal they had, and course bread of beans and pease was carried forth by private persons to be sold unto them. The whole quantities are extant in the excise-books of Drogheda, not amounting in all to the value of 800*l*. most of it being in beer, and of little relief to the Irish army; though much hath been spoken on this subject to traduce me,



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me, by foul mouths, and persons of unsound hearts, which hath caused me the rather thus far to insist on this particular.

From that time I continued constant in my care and charge, without intermeddling in other affairs, until certain overtures of peace were propounded by the Irish party, in my opinion very unequal as destructive to the protestant religion, exceeding hurtful to his majesty's present service, and to the utter ruin of the English interest in this kingdom.

And that his majesty might rightly understand the conditions of the Irish, and the nature and quality of their demands, I was sent among others unto Oxford, with the whole passages of the treaty, and did acquit my self with that freedom in every particular, as became the loyalty and fidelity I owe unto my king and country. And at our return from Oxford, all of us that were upon the afore-said employment were taken at sea, between Wales and Ireland, and carried prisoners unto London, and committed to the tower: a bad recompence of my endeavours. Yet I cannot justly complain, because foul and false accusations were exhibited against me, which coming to be justified, had not so much as a shadow of truth.

Afterwards I was enlarged on exchange, and continued my command in Ireland with the same duty, zeal and affection to the service of my king and country, as I had formerly done, and in pursuance thereof, the commissioners sent over by the parliament being willing to continue my employment, I embraced it with chearfulness, and in a few days passing from Dublin to Drogheda, with a small convoy of fifteen horse, and as many more officers

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cers of quality and valour, besides some travellers and merchants; we were way-laid by near three hundred rebels, choice horse, well armed and mounted; whom notwithstanding, it being a case of necessity, we boldly charged, killed the captain that led them; and there, in the midst of the rebels, a young man (to say no more of him, because he was my son) of fair hopes was to my continual sorrow unfortunately slain. Afterwards we made good our retreat three miles, losing in it and in the first place of combat those eleven men; and amongst them lieutenant colonel Trevor, a gentleman of singular worth and valour. Neither had the rebels much to vaunt of, for they lost two leaders of quality and six troopers. This I relate the more particularly, because the opposition they found in so small a party served greatly to abate their courage, when we met them some nine or ten days after, at the battle of Dungan hill. At that battle I led the rear-guard of the army, and acquitted my self in that days service as became me; whereof the parliament, without any motion or expectation of mine, were pleased to take so far notice as to vote me 200 l. A while after I fell into the county of Cavan, took a great prey from the rebels, burnt much of their corn, and returned without the loss of one man.

In November following I had notice, and gave colonel Jones an advertisement of Owen Roe O'Neal's preparations and march towards our quarters; and this being Saturday in the evening, I sent immediately directions that night to the horse at Drogheda and the garrisons in those parts, consisting of two regiments and five troops, to be with me at Trim  
on

1641.

on Monday morning following: and accordingly seven troops came to me, as the rest might have done to the advantage of the service, but did it not at that time. With these seven troops I followed the rear-guard of O Neal, and sometimes on his flank, from Monday till Thursday following, taking and killing divers of his men that were left to fire our quarters; by which means I preserved much of the country from spoil. On Thursday in the afternoon the rest of the horse came up to me; and also I received a letter from colonel Jones, in any case to joyn with him, near Dublin, if possibly I could; which I effected at Donfin three miles from Dublin, between ten and eleven that night. The next morning we marched after Owen Roe, and before night overtook him with his army, between Ratothe and Garristown. That we then fought not with him, he being on his retreat in a kind of flying posture, was the advice and counsel of warier men than myself; for advantage ought not to be lost through the fear of the number of the enemy, since the flight of the baser sort serves to rout the most valorous; and we had many hopeful reasons to make a tryal of at that time: but colonel Jones, though not ignorant of the occasion, yet would not be perswaded by me; but delayed the execution of it till the next day, which Owen Roe, by stealing away that night utterly prevented.

Not long after I entered into the county of Westmeath with a considerable party of horse and foot, took in the town of Foore and another castle, and burnt them; with several other places, and abundance of corn in

in store and stack, as far as Multefarnam, in-  
somuch that when I was returned with a  
great prey, the rebels sent from Mullingar to  
offer themselves under contribution. In my  
way to Westmeath major Cadogan with a  
party of foot took in a strong house that be-  
fore the rebellion belonged to himself with  
a nest of fifteen or sixteen notorious rebels.  
Other services were done that journey, which,  
in regard they met with no opposition, I  
forbear to particularize.

The remainder of that winter I often fell  
into the counties of Cavan and Monaghan,  
always with success, to the destruction of ma-  
ny of the rebels, and the gaining of consi-  
derable preys: for the want we suffered, and  
the necessity of our condition, required us  
to run many hazards, thereby to gain sub-  
sistence.

In the spring colonel Monck drew a party  
out of the North, marched through the re-  
bels quarters, drove all before him; and by  
agreement, I fell in on the other side, com-  
passed a great part of the county of Cavan,  
went through the wasted town of Cavan,  
past by Ballyhays and other places, and met  
colonel Monck on the borders, between the  
counties of Cavan and Monaghan. Between  
us we took a great prey from the rebels,  
distrest them in all places where they made  
opposition, which was not considerable; in-  
somuch that though they lost much cattle,  
few were slain in the defence of them. I af-  
terwards made other roads to the same pur-  
pose, and ever with happy returns.

In July colonel Jones sent me two culve-  
rins with a party of foot from Dublin, to  
strengthen those I could conveniently draw  
from



1641.

from Drogheda and the garrisons about me, that I might be enabled to go before Ballyhoe and other holds and castles of the rebels, which much annoyed our frontiers; and colonel Monck drew forth a party out of Dundalk, and sat down on the other side of Ballyhoe, in the county of Monaghan. The next morning after my arrival I sent forth a party, and took in a castle that defended a pass on Logan water, between colonel Monck and myself. The rebels in Ballyhoe were confident of their strength, and comforted with expectation of relief, which made them bold and resolute to endure the battery, and defend the place: but when the breach appeared in some sort assailable, they beat a parley; and though we were at first resolved not to listen to them, in regard of their obstinacy, yet at last we condescended to forbear a little, and hear their demands; and thereupon some of the officers and soldiers appearing more openly than formerly, in confidence of the parley, the rebels instantly gave fire upon us. Colonel Monck and myself standing on the battery close together, a bullet past through one of the culverin ladles, and in the descent touched my hat, and fell on colonel Monck's strap of his buff hangers and girdle, cut them both through, and rested in his buff coat without farther hurt; but colonel Ponsonby was shot in the leg, a little below the knee: whereupon we gave present order to fall on, as we were formerly prepared to do; and by God's assistance took it by assault, putting all to the sword (for the most part) that were found in it, which were many, in regard most of the

the rebels that inhabited thereabouts were retired thither.

This castle taken, colonel Monck returned to Dundalk, and I went forward to the Nabhor and Cruce's fort, both strong places; but upon my advance deserted by the rebels, as several other castles were, or delivered without a stroke, to the number of nine, whereof most were blown up, the rest garrisoned by me. I could have proceeded farther; but I had order to return, and did so accordingly about the beginning of August; at which time there was a great fame of the marquis of Ormonde's landing in Munster, and several officers that had served under him heretofore against the rebels (upon no ground that ever could appear, but the jealousy of the times) were sent prisoners into England, others clapt in prison in the castle of Dublin and at Drogheda. I was informed that the like proceeding was intended against myself, and that I was the first in the list to be sent over into England; but having the charge of those forces abroad, the time was not then seasonable: whereupon I wrote to colonel Jones, that I understood I was drawn into suspicion through some malicious representation of me in England; and therefore that I might not be prejudicial to him and the service of Ireland, nor receive so bad a recompence of my many hazards and faithful endeavours against the rebels in this war, as to be made an undeserved prisoner, I craved his licence to go over into England, that if any crime could be laid unto my charge, I would be there ready to clear myself, or undergo the punishment proper for it: which colonel Jones granted.

And

1641.

And although at my coming to London I had liberty from the council of state to return to my command, yet because the times were full of jealousies, and that I was not alike grounded in all men's opinions (for some business of mine being debated in the house, it appeared there were many that had a prejudicate opinion of me) I therefore freely reposed my arms, and forsook my employment.

I have not written this to glorify myself, but to leave you, my dearly beloved, these few memorials of my actions, wherein it pleased God to use me instrumentally, that you may the better frame your address to the lawful favour of those that have power to assist you in the recovery of my several disbursements made for the army, and my personal arrears. But look not on them, my dear, as a large and precious legacy; nor do not murmur or repine, though your suits and just desires are rejected: for God is all sufficient, on whom alone I beseech you and your family wholly to depend, making that the sole end of your business to fear him, and keep his commandments: so shall you be sure, in all conditions and estates, to find content here, and eternal felicity hereafter, which God grant us all. The last petition of your affectionate husband,

HENRY TICHBORNE.

June 8th,

1651.

The

The names of the several captains, as they came in for our defence at Drogheda.

1641.

October 26, 1641.

**T**HE lord viscount Moore of Drogheda, with his troop of horse consisting of sixty-six.

Sir John Netterville, Rockly, captains.—With their two half standing companies.

Seafowle Gibson, Captain.—His company of the English inhabitants and other protestants were to the number of 120.

November the 4th, 1642.

Sir Henry Tichborne, colonel, and governor of the town.—His company of foot.

Sir John Borlace, Lt. Colonel Byron, Lt. Colonel Wenmond, captains.—These three, though having been before officers of the field, yet out of their zeal to the present service, came as private captains.

Jacob Lovel, serjeant-major, who died in the siege.

Chichester Fortescue, Edward Billingsley, John Morris, William Willoughby, Lewis Owens, captains.

The troops of horse.

John Sloughter, captain, lieutenant to sir Thomas Lucas, commissary general.

Thomas Grymes, lieutenant to sir Adam Loftus,

November the 10th.

Henry Bryan, Patrick Trevor, Foulke Martin, captains.

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November



1641.

November the 22d.

Christopher Roger, serjeant-major, William Cadogan, Charles Sownley, captains.—These three captains escaped very defective in their companies from the defeat at the bridge of Gillianstown.

Fifty horse under the command of sir Patrick Weymes, captain lieutenant to the earl of Ormonde.

February the 20th, with our second relief.

Richard Borrows, Edward Trevor, William Hamilton, captains.

When all the aforesaid captains (excepting the regiment of sir Henry Tichborne) were appointed to be under my lord Moore's command.

**W**E whose names are here underwritten, who have been and continued captains within the town of Drogheda, during the siege, and so eye-witnesses of most things which have fallen out in it, having duly and diligently read over this book, entitled, "the history of the siege of Drogheda," do hereby according to the several times of our coming thither, and according to our best remembrance, confirm this forgoing history to be wholly truth: and do testify it to be in each particular very impartially and fully related. As witness our hands this eleventh day of June, 1651.

Seaf. Gibson,  
Jo. Sloughter,  
Robert Byron,

Rich. Borrows,  
Phil. Wenman,  
P. Weymes.

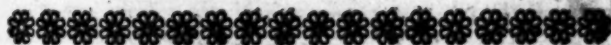
The

The lord viscount Moore of Drogheda, his  
confirmation of the truth of the foregoing  
history.

1651.

**H**OWsoever the known integrity of the  
author is a sufficient testimony of itself,  
yet (having the second time read over this  
book, entitled, "the history of the siege of  
Drogheda," where I have been an eye-witness  
of what hath been done from the beginning  
of it,) I do hereby (according to the attestati-  
on of the six other captains, and in answer to  
the desire of such as have conceived it ne-  
cessary) confirm this foregoing history to be  
wholly truth, and in each particular to be  
fully and very impartially written, (only de-  
clining throughout such passages as may con-  
cern myself.) As witness my hand this 22d  
of June, 1651.

MOORE.



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**CONNOR Lord MAC-GUIRE,**

W I T H  
 The perfect Copies of the **Indictment**, and  
 all the **Evidences** against him,

A L S O,  
 The Copy of Sir PHELIM O NEIL's Commission,  
 the POPE's Bull to the Confederate CATHOLICKS in

**I R E L A N D:**

W I T H  
 Many remarkable Passages of the **GRAND**  
**REBELLION** there, from the first Rise  
 thereof to this present. His Plea of **PEERAGE**, and  
 several Answers: With the several Replies made to  
 him,

---

By the King's Sergeant at Law, and Sergeant ROLL.  
 WILLIAM PRYNNE, Esquire; and M. NUDIGATE.

---

A N D  
 The Copies of the several Testimonies brought in against  
 him at his Tryal at the King's Bench-Bar, in Hillary  
 Term last:

B Y

|                      |   |                     |   |                     |
|----------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| The Lord Blaney,     | { | Sir Fran. Hamilton, | { | John Carmicke,      |
| Lady Caulfield,      |   | Sir Edw. Borlacey,  |   | Walter Gubson,      |
| Sir Arthur Loftus,   |   | Sir William Coje,   |   | M. Bunbury,         |
| Sir John Temple,     |   | Sir Charles Coote,  |   | Cap. Mich Balfoure, |
| Sir William Stewart, |   | Mrs. Wordrofe,      |   | Captain Berisford,  |



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**T**HERE will be no need of making any long preamble to this business of the lord Mac-Guire: there is none of us but have cause to be very sensible of it in some of our blood, some dear friend, or at least some acquaintance in the present unhappy war ensuing this most damnable Treason, plotted by him and his confederates; the particulars whereof you will find in order, which are in themselves so copious, and satisfactory, that it will not need any other pointing out than the order it lies in.

1641.

Here followeth a proclamation published upon the first discovery of the plot.

A proclamation, by the lords justices and council.

William Parsons. John Borlace.

**T**HESE are to make known and publish to all his majesty's good subjects in this kingdom of Ireland, that there is a discovery made to us the lords justices and council, of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy intended by some evil affected Irish papists, against the lives of us, the lords justices and council, and many others of his majesty's faithful subjects universally throughout this kingdom, and for the seizing not only of his majesty's castle of Dublin, his majesty's principal fort here, but also of the other fortifications in this kingdom: and seeing by the great goodness and abundant mercy of almighty God to his majesty and this state and kingdom, those wicked conspiracies are brought to light, and some of the conspira-

1641.

tors committed to the castle of Dublin, by us, by his majesty's authority, so as those wicked and damnable plots are now disappointed in the chief parts thereof: we therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of his majesty's good and loyal subjects in all parts of the kingdom, but also hereby to require them that they do with all confidence and chearfulness betake themselves to their own defence, and stand upon their guard, so to render the more safety to themselves and all the kingdom besides, and that they advertise us with all possible speed of all occurrences which may concern the peace and safety of the kingdom, and now to shew fully that faith and loyalty, which they have always shewn for the publick services of the crown and kingdom, which we will value to his majesty accordingly, and a special memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time: and we require, that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for foreign service, nor any men suffered to march upon any such pretence.

Given at his majesty's castle at Dublin,  
23 Octob. 1641.

|                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| R. Dillon,     | Ro. Digby,      |
| Ad. Loftus,    | J. Temple,      |
| Tho. Rotheram, | Fr. Willoughby, |
| J. Ware,       | Rob. Meredith.  |

God save the king.

The rebellion (notwithstanding this proclamation) went on still; for though it took  
not

not at Dublin, where this lord Mac-Guire, Mac-Mahon, and some other conspirators were discovered, and apprehended and many of the rebels were dispersed by reason thereof; yet they called them in again, from time to time, by warrants, (of which sort here is the copy of one under Plunket's own hand,) and have ever since continued this rebellion

By the right honourable the general assembly of the confederate catholicks of Ireland.

**T**HESE are to will and command you forthwith to make diligent search and enquiries within your several towns, villages, quarters and corporations, for all such soldiers as are come from the Fort of Duncannon, sithence the late cessation; which were under the command of captain Ralph Capron, and captain Edward Ashton: and wheresoever they or any of them shall be found, their bodies to restrain and deliver unto the said captains, upon demand by the said captains, or either of them, the said captains faithfully promising not to inflict any further punishment upon the said soldiers, or any of them, for this their first fault; whereof you may not fail, as you and every of you will answer the contrary. And for so doing, shall be a sufficient warrant.

Given at Waterford the 15th of  
November, 1643.

N. Plunket,

To all his majesty's sheriffs, sovereigns, portriffs, bayliffs, colonels, captains, commanders, and other officers whom it may concern within the county of Wexford, or elsewhere,

And



1547.

And in this bloody war plotted and begun in Ireland by this lord Mac-guire, and his confederates, and seconded in England: how many thousand of men, women, and children have lost their lives; and for this the rebels plead great authority, as appears by this declaration following.

A declaration of the lords, gentry, and others of Leinster and Munster, of their intentions towards the English and Scottish protestants, inhabitants within this kingdom.

**W**Hereas we are informed, that it is generally conceived and believed by the English and Scottish protestants inhabitants of this kingdom, that we the lords, gentry, and others of the said kingdom, have taken arms, and taken forces, for the extirpation and banishing of them out of this kingdom, thereby to acquire to ourselves their goods and estates: we therefore desire to be rightly understood; for we hereby declare, that we never consented, nor intended, nor neither will intend, nor condescend to any such act, but do utterly disclaim them; but that each man known to be a moderate conformable protestant, may (as well as the romish catholicks) respectively live and enjoy the freedom of their own religion, and peaceably and quietly possess their own estates, so far forth as they, or any of them, shall join with us in this oath following:

**I** A. B. do in the presence of almighty God, and all the angels and saints, and by the contents of the bible, promise, vow, swear and

and protest, to bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord king Charles, and the heirs and successors of his body begotten, and will defend him and them, as far as I may, with my life, power, and estate, against all persons that attempt any thing against his or their persons, honours, estates, and dignities; and that I will with the exposing of my life, power, and estate, join with the said Irish or any other, to recover his estate, royal prerogatives forcibly wrested from him by the puritans, in the houses of parliament in England, and to maintain the same against them and all others, that shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress or do any act contrary to regal government; as also to maintain episcopal jurisdiction, and the lawfulness thereof in the church, powers and privileges of prelates, and the lawful rights and privileges of the subjects: \* “and I will do no act or thing, directly or indirectly, to hinder the free and publick exercise of the romish catholick religion in any his majesty’s dominions;” and that I will join with, and be assistant to the members of this commonwealth for redress to be had of the grievances and pressures thereof, in such manner and form as shall be thought fit by a lawful parliament, and to my power, as far as I may, I will oppose and bring to condign punishment, even to loss of life, liberty and estate, of all such as either by force, or practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies or otherwise, do, or attempt any thing to the contrary of any article, clause or any thing in this present oath, vow, or protestation, contained; and neither for reward, fear, or punishment, or any

\* Note this.

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any respect whatsoever, shall relinquish this oath and protestation. So help me God.

This declaration and oath was entred in the council book of Kilkenny, and this is a true copy thereof. Witness the hand of

Jeremy Green, clerk of the  
supreme council of Kilkenny,

God save the king.

By the confederate catholicks of the supreme  
council,

**W**Hereas the Scottish army in the province of Ulster, and other their adherents, in the said province, and other parts of the kingdom, have of late (as often before) taken a traiterous oath of covenant against his sacred majesty, his crown and dignity, and made an unchristian and prophane vow for the utter extirpation of the Irish nation, and total suppression of the catholick roman religion, subversion of monarchical government, and introduction of confused anarchy within this realm: and not contented with the inhuman and unparalled massacres by them committed on poor labourers, women, children, and many thousands of other innocents of our nation, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, before the conclusion of the cessation at Siggins town, on the 15th of September last, notwithstanding continual depredations, robberies, thefts, burnings, and destructions of all the corn and inhabitants in many counties and territories within the said realm,

realm, and elsewhere by them acted before the said cessation: the said traiterous covenanters receiving their maintenance, support, and orders, from the rebels now in arms against his majesty in England; have augmented, and do rather multiply and increase than diminish their exorbitant courses: and whereas the said rebels have joined in a strict union and confederation to destroy the Irish nation root and branch (as they term it) and their ministers and adherents, by their directions, at sea as well as land, do exercise no less cruelty: for, as oft as shipping do meet any weaker vessels at sea, transporting men from this kingdom for his majesty's service in England, if Irish-men, though protestants, and valiant and useful servitors against the confederate catholicks in this war, the Irish are thrown overboard, as doth appear by the late throwing into the sea, and drowning of an Irish company of foot of colonel Willoughby's regiment, all protestants and servitors as aforesaid; and many women in their passage from Dublin to Bristol by one of the pretended parliament ships, and sundry other examples of that kind, against the law of war and nations. And whereas the said Scottish army, all composed of rebels and assassins, are now in their march in great numbers towards the three provinces of this kingdom, to accomplish the plots and machinations aforesaid: and whereas the said rebels in England have provided a great navy, a considerable part whereof doth surround the sea coast in this kingdom, and are resolved the next summer, if it rest in their power, which God defend, to land great forces in the



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the province of Munster and Leinster: and the said rebels of Scotland have the like design of landing of forces in the parts of Ulster next unto the province of Conaght: and whereas the auxiliary forces of the three provinces, designed and raised for the necessary defence of our religion, king, and nation, are now marched to the province of Ulster under the command of our very good lord the earl of Castlehaven, general, appointed by the last general assembly for the expedition of Ulster, to repel the said fury and insolvency of the said rebels. Wherefore we hold it of absolute necessity, for the safety of the kingdom, and his majesty's interest therein, that all the said other three provinces be forthwith in arms, as well to preserve themselves at home from the said intended invasions, as also to be ready to assist the said army abroad, marched into Ulster, if need require.

We do therefore by this publick act and proclamation order, command, and require all the lords, knights and gentlemen, freeholders, and all other persons, from the age of 18 years, to the age of 60, forthwith to put themselves in arms and posture of defence; and such as want arms and ammunition, and are able, are hereby required to provide the same forthwith, for themselves, their servants and retinue. And for the better effecting this high and important service, we do hereby require, order, and command all and every the governours, deputy-governours, mayors, sheriffs, and all other head officers of the respective counties, cities, and incorporate towns of this kingdom, within  
our

our quarters, viz. the governours, deputy-governours, in the counties where they are governours, to call to assistance the high sheriff, and two or more of the commissioners of the array; and in the counties where there is no governour, the high sheriff, calling to his assistance three, or more of the commissioners, of the array: and in the cities, and corporate towns, the mayor and other head-officers, taking to assistance the recommended sheriffs and bailiff thereof, or any one or more of them, forthwith to summon all the lords, knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, and others, able and fit to bear arms, between the ages aforesaid, to appear well armed upon a certain day, and in a certain place, within the said respective counties and towns respectively, and upon such appearance, to inslist the names, surnames, age, arms, and ammunition of every person, who will so appear, in a book fairly written, and the said governors, deputy-governours, mayors, high sheriffs, and other head-officers, taking to their assistance, as aforesaid, are hereby required and authorized to impose fines, to the double value of the arms and ammunition, upon any person or persons so summoned, that will make default, who ought to have appeared according to the meaning of this our proclamation, and of other our former proclamations, to this effect: and to impose the single value of the arms he should have, upon such as will appear, and not be armed as becometh: and we require the said governours, and other officers aforesaid, at their perils to make due return unto the general assembly now near at hand, or unto

1642  
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us, in a fair book fairly written, of the number, names, surnames, arms, ammunition, defaults, and fines aforesaid, at the furthest, by the sixth day of the month of August,

Given at Kilkenny the 6th of July, 1644.

Mount-Garret, Fz. Tho. Dublin, Antrim,  
Nettervill, Arthur Iveagh, John Cloynfect,  
Tho. Preston, Edmond Fitz-morris, Rich.  
Bealing, Tirlogh O Neile, Patrick Darcy,  
George Commins,

I caused this declaration and proclamation to be printed here in England ; and will justify it to be their act upon oath.

LAZARUS HAWARD.

My lodging at Mr. Stretcher's in the Tower-Bulwark,

But to come to the particulars of the tryal of the lord Mac-Guire ; which was thus :

THE

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T H E  
T R Y A L  
O F  
CONNOR LORD MAC-GUIRE,

FEBRUARY 10, 1644.

In the 20th Year of King CHARLES the First.

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**B**Y the indictment the prisoner at the bar is charged, that he, together with sir Phil. O Neale, Philip O Relly, Roger Moore, esq; Roger Mac-Guire, esq; Toole O Conley clerk (being a romish priest) Hugh Macmahune, and divers other persons, false traytors, unknown, as a false-traytor against the king's majesty, his supreme leige lord, not having the fear of God in his heart, nor considering his duty or allegiance, but being seduced by the instigation of the devil, intending altogether to withdraw, blot out, and extinguish the cordial love and due obedience which faithful subjects owe to their sovereign; did on the 20th of Oct. 17. Car. at Dublin in Ireland, in the parts beyond the seas, and at divers other times, both before and after, as well at Dublin as elsewhere, falsely, maliciously, and traiterously conspire, imagine, and compass utterly to deprive and disinherit the king's majesty of his royal estate and kingdom of Ireland; to bring his majesty's person to death and destruction; to

A a

false



raise sedition, and breed and cause miserable slaughter and destruction amongst the king's subjects throughout all the whole kingdom: to make an insurrection and rebellion against the king his sovereign; to levy publick, open, bloody, and fierce war against the king in that kingdom; to change and alter, according to their own wills, the government of the kingdom, and the religion there established, and totally to subvert the well ordered state of that common-wealth; to procure and bring in divers strangers and foreigners (not being the king's subjects) in a warlike manner to invade that kingdom of Ireland, and to levy war there.

And in execution of these their wicked treasons, and traiterous conspiracies 20 Octob. 17. Car. the defendant Connor Mac-Guire at Dublin, and divers other times and places, by one Toole O Conley, and divers other messengers, by him sent to Owen O Neale, being then in Flanders, did move and incite Phil. O Neale to levy and raise an army in Flanders, and thence to bring that army over into Ireland in an hostile manner to invade that kingdom.

And further, to put in execution their traiterous purposes, the defendant, together with Hugh Macmahune, Phil. O Neale, Philip O Relly, Roger Moore, Roger Mac-Guire, and Toole O Conley the priest, 20 Oct. 17 Car. at Dublin, and divers other times and places in Ireland, before and after, did traiterously conspire to enter into, seize, get into their own power, and surprize the king's castle at Dublin, and all other the king's castles and forts in that kingdom, and the magazine therein: and at the same time unlawfully

fully and traiterously did endeavour and actually attempt to gain into their possession and power, and to surprize the said castle of Dublin, and munition therein.

That the defendant, with the other persons named, Philip O Neale and others, further to bring to pass their most horrid wicked treasons and conspiracies, on the 22d of Octob. 17 Car. at Charlemont and other places, before and after, being armed and arrayed with a great multitude in a warlike manner, with banners displayed, swords, staves, guns, and other invasive and defensive weapons, did falsely and traiterously prepare and levy open, fierce, and bloody war against the king's majesty; and the same 22d of october seized and surprized the king's fort at Charlemont, and then and there maliciously and traiterously did kill and murder Toby lord Caulfield, Francis Davies, and others of the king's subjects that were protestants.

That the defendants, 4 Junii, 18 Car. at the castles of Keilagh and Cragan, and other times and places, before and after, levied war, seized and surprized those castles, and did kill and murder Owen Powell and William Cofens, and many other of the king's protestant subjects in that kingdom.

Which several offences are laid against his duty and allegiance, against the peace of the king's crown and dignity, in manifest breach and contempt of the laws and statutes of this kingdom.

The defendant pleaded not guilty: and being demanded how he would be tried;

## The copy of the plea.

**H**E pleaded the statute of magna charta, the 10 Feb. 9. Hen. 3. that none should be condemned but by trial of his peers; and pleaded the statute of 10. Hen. 7. that all the statutes made in England, should from thenceforth be in force in Ireland.

And pleaded, that before the time of the several treasons charged in the indictment, Bryan Mac-Guire his father, by letters patents was created baron of Enniskillen, in Ireland, to him and the heirs male of his body: by force whereof, his father was seized of the barony in fee-tail, and 1 Feb. 12 Car. died so seized; after whose death the barony descended to the defendant, by virtue whereof he was a baron of Ireland. And that at a parliament held at Dublin, 16 March, 16 Car. which was there continued till the 7th of August after, and then adjourned to the 9th of Nov. following, and then prorogued to the 24th of February thence next following, and from thence continued till the 24th June, 18 Car.

That he was as one of the noblemen and peers of that parliament; and that the 23d of October, 17 Car. he was arrested and imprisoned upon pretence of the several treasons in the indictment mentioned, and there continued till the 12th of June 18 Car. when he was brought against his will to Westminster, and thence committed to the tower of London in strict custody. And averred his plea, and prayed that he might be tried and judged by his peers in Ireland.

Whereunto the king's council demurred in law

law, and the defendant joined in the demurrer.

Upon the plea of the lord Mac-Guire, the beginning of Hillary term, judge Bacon delivered his judgment, that a baron of Ireland was triable by a jury in this kingdom, After which the house of commons declared their assent unto this opinion in this following vote.

Die Sabbathi, 8 Feb. 1644.

**R**esolved upon the Question, that the house doth approve of the judgment given by Mr. Justice Bacon, in over-ruling the plea of the lord Mac-Guire, and of the manner of the trial upon the indictment of high treason in the king's bench; and the judge is hereby required to proceed speedily thereupon, according to law and justice. The lords concurrence to be desired herein; master recorder is appointed to carry it up.

Upon this vote of the honourable house of commons, the house of peers afterwards declared their concurrence; and thereupon this ensuing order was passed by both houses of parliament.

Die Lunæ, 10 Feb. 1644.

**O**rdere by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that the said houses do approve of the judgment given by master justice Bacon, in over-ruling the plea of lord Mac-Guire, and of the manner of the trial upon the indictment of high treason in the king's bench; and the judge is hereby required to



## THE TRYAL OF

proceed speedily thereupon, accordingly to law and justice.

John Browne, Cler. Parl.

Hen. Elsing, Cler. Parl. D. C.

**O**N Monday February 10, the lord Mac-Guire (one of the chief actors in that unparalleled and unheard of rebellion in Ireland) was brought from the tower of London, by the guard belonging thereunto, unto the king's bench bar; where he was arraigned by the name of Connor Mac-Guire, alias Cornelius Mac-Guire, esq; (for his plea of peerage was found invalid, and so declared by the court; and that opinion of the judge was since assented unto, and confirmed by both houses of parliament.) At his coming to the bar the prisoner spake as followeth.

*Mac-Guire.* I do humbly move, that I may have time allowed me by this court to send for my witnesses.

*Judge.* You have had a long time; you were indicted about the beginning of the last term; you might have prepared witnesses the last term.

*Mac.* I did not expect a tryal.

*Judge.* You should expect it at your Peril.

*Mac.* I was told, when I came into the kingdom, that I might have witnesses.

*Judge.* The proof lies on the king's part.

*Mac.* Though the proof be of the king's part, yet I must have time to clear myself.

*Judge.* But if every man should ask so much time as you require, he should never come to his tryal.

*Sergeant Whitfield.* Mr. justice Bacon, we know that my lord Mac-Guire was indicted here the last term; he was arraigned at this bar,

bar, he pleaded, not guilty, he could not but expect that he had then been tried, if it had not been for the plea of peerage, that he then put in: upon which he knows there was a deliberate dispute, and he could not tell but that there would be an end before this time; and if he had had any witnesses, he might have sent for them the last term; but it is a very unusual course, especially in that he could not but expect that he should be tried before this time; but then the court did conceive this was a legal information. No place is mentioned by the prisoner where the witnesses should be, nor are they named who they are, nor any particular thing that they should testify; but the proof lies clear on our part: there is no justification in treason, if we prove that this lord hath committed treason, there is no justification of that, by any witnesses he can produce.

*Judge.* The lord Grey, that was lord deputy of Ireland, committed his treasons in Ireland, for which he was brought over hither, and tried here; yet the court did not stay for his sending over into Ireland for witnesses.

*Mac.* I desire witnesses.

*Judge.* What can your witnesses say for you? can they say thus much, that you did not conspire, as this indictment charges you; that there was no taking of these castles? can they swear in the negative? the proof lies in the affirmative on the king's part.

*Mac.* They may be mis-informed.

*Judge.* Who may be mis-informed?

*Mac.* The court, I have been kept close prisoner a long time, and could not provide my witnesses.

*Ser. Whitfield.* If we were not tied to that,

to nothing but his own confession, there is enough to condemn him; for that he says he was kept close prisoner, he might have desired that the last term.

*Sergeant Roll.* If we go upon your own examination, the witnesses concurring with that, what can you have?

*Judge.* If you had witnesses here, we would hear them; but to stay upon a meer verbal supposal, for those witnesses in Ireland, they may be in that rebellion too, and they will never come hither, and so the matter must never come to a tryal.

*Mac.* I desire that it may be the next term.

*Judge.* We cannot protract time; they are the king's witnesses, there are (I suppose) divers here, many witnesses of the king's come out of Ireland; if you will ask them any questions for your defence, you shall. There are many witnesses of the king's that know how things were in Ireland, the court shall put them to speak.

*Mac.* I humbly desire to have a formal tryal.

*Judge.* In what respect do you mean? I think it is so now. Now you are come to be arraigned, and the evidence is to come in against you, I conceive it is a formal one.

Then the prisoner was required to hold up his hand at the bar; and it was demanded, if he would challenge any of the jury that were to pass upon him in the matter of life and death.

Then the jury being called, he looked upon them, and challenged those which did appear, being twenty-three; there being only one absent. Being demanded whether his challenge was peremptory or no? he answered it was, for causes best known to himself.

Jury

Jury challenged.

|                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Sir William Browne-   | John Pawlet, gent.      |
| low, Kt. and Baronet. | Thos. Poltock, gent.    |
| Sir Henry Roe.        | Henry Smith, gent.      |
| Sir Matthew Howland.  | Francis Child, gent.    |
| Thomas Marsh, esq;    | Edwd. Wilford, gent.    |
| Thomas Wilcox, esq;   | Wm. Vincent, gent.      |
| William Lane, esq;    | John Barnes.            |
| Edward Rogers, esq;   | John Arnold.            |
| Edward Claxton, esq;  | John Hucksley, esq;     |
| Richard Zachary, esq; | Sir Ja. Harrington, Kt. |
| Humphrey Westwood,    | Thomas Moore, esq;      |
| esq;                  | Henry Arundell, gent.   |
| John Jackson, esq;    |                         |

*Ser. Whitfield.* The prisoner hath challenged all the jury that does appear; twenty-three appear, and he hath challenged them, and his challenge is for causes best known to himself, which is a peremptory challenge. Truly, it is that which the law doth allow, and we do not oppose it; but we do desire that we may have another writ returnable to-morrow.

*Judge.* You must have a Venire facias.

*Ser. Whitfield.* This cause is a cause of very great weight, there are many witnesses that have long attended in court, we are informed that some of them are gone away into Ireland; that there is the sheriff of Dublin, and some others that are now present in court, that cannot be here, if we should defer this trial, as the prisoner doth desire: and we do desire that it may be referred till to-morrow, we shall be ready to give in evidence against him.

*Judge.* He hath spent three days this term already,



already, this is the fourth: we would have proceeded now but for his peremptory challenge; but if we stay till to-morrow, he must be content to be tried by a meaner jury.

*Mr. Prynne.* This being a publick case, we desire a speedy progress in it: our witnesses have been long detained here, and cannot attend till the next term, some of them being to depart within two days.

*Judge.* A publick case must have publick justice on both sides: for your witnesses, you shall stay your witnesses here. We must do that which the law doth allow.

*Ser. Whitfield.* The law does allow of his peremptory challenge; we desire to have a new writ, and that it may be returnable to-morrow. For the doing of it, we shall leave it to those that are to prosecute it, and to the sheriff. We see that this cause cannot be tried this day, we desire we may have a speedy end of it; there have been many days spent in it, and we that are of council for the king do desire, that we may confer together, departing the court for some time; and when we have conferred together we will return to the court again, and then we will propound to you what course we do desire for the speedy trial of this cause.

To this motion the judge assented, and *Ser. Whitfield* and the rest of the counsel went to consult together about it: and after a short stay, upon their return, *Ser. Whitfield* spake thus.

*Ser. Whitfield.* We that are counsel for the king, have consulted together with the clerk of the crown, and the secretary; we have withdrawn ourselves, and perused several presidents, and we do find by several presidents,

dents, that whereas a peremptory challenge shall be, it is in the power of the court to order the course of trial, and the course is this, there goes a writ to the sheriff, that he shall restrain all them that make default, and that he shall amove those that are challenged by the prisoner; and further, that he shall return so many more for the trial. This we conceive to be the constant course of this court; and in this case my lord Mac-Guire having challenged 23 of the 24 we are to restrain the other that made default, and to amove the 23, that he hath challenged of them, and have a Tales returnable to-morrow for a new jury.

*Ser. Roll.* That was in Standish's case, and Friar's case.

*Judge.* I know the court may grant a tales, but the matter is, whether it can be done so soon as to-morrow or no, if the sheriff can do it to-morrow.

*Ser. Whitfield.* We do find this in the president of friar, that in 3 Hen. 7. the jury did appear on Friday, and all those that did appear were challenged, and there was a Distringas returned the next day, which was Saturday. It may be immediate.

*Judge.* Then make your Distringas against to-morrow morning, make out a Quadraginta tales against to-morrow.

*Mac.* I desire I may not be so severely dealt with.

*Judge.* It hath been so oftentimes, and the court doth proceed in these cases de die in diem, from day to day; and there is no difficulty in the granting of it, but whether the sheriff can return it so soon.

If the king's council will have it to-morrow,  
the

the other businesſes of the court muſt be put off.

Hereupon the priſoner was diſcharged, and a rule granted to the lieutenant of the tower to bring him again the next day.

**O**N Tuesday Febr. 11, the lord Mac-Guire was again brought to the king's-bench bar, where he made a motion that his plea of peerage might be referred to another court. To which it was answered,

*Ser. Whitfield:* We know not for what end this motion is, and we know this, that this is no time for my lord to make this request; for you know how far we have proceeded; he hath been arraigned, and indicted of high treason, and one jury he challenged, the other is returned, so as now he is in the way of his tryal; we are now to proceed with such evidence as we have, to prosecute instantly. We do not desire this to be produced again, and if it be, we know not how it could be material one way or other.

After this the lord Mac-Guire further urged the court to the former purpose: to which it was answered, that he was then brought to his tryal as a prisoner upon the indictment, and that both the lords and commons had approved of the opinion of the court therein.

*Mac.* Please you sir, one word more: I desire to appeal to the lords.

*Ser. Whitfield.* When one is come here, to appeal to the lords, that was never known: now you have put yourself upon the country.

*Mac.* Under favour, I conceive I may, to an higher court.

*Judge.* It cannot be granted, the lords approved

proved it: if you should have gone to an higher court before, you might have taken your course; now the jury is returned, and you are appointed to be tried here.

After this the lord Mac-Guire desired further to appeal, to which the answer was:

*Ser. Whit.* Here lies no such appeal here, you are out of the ecclesiastical court, there is no such plea here; you are now upon the middle of your tryal, we desire you may go on, you have challenged 23 of the jury already.

*Judge.* We have no such course in the common law; if a man will appeal from me, I cannot let him appeal to any man.

Upon this, these of the jury following were named, which he challenged: viz.

George Hanger, esq; Stephen Bourmangent.  
Sir Michael Wharton, George Weaver-Basset,  
James Hawley, esq; J. Nicolls the younger,  
George Smith, esq; Henry Walker, gent.  
Edmund Besley, esq; Randolph Nicoll,  
William Ewrsby, esq; Andrew Brent.

Upon his challenging of these, which being added to the rest, make 35 in all, the other jury being about to be called, the lord Mac-Guire moved:

*Mac.* Under favour, I conceive, that my lands being sequestred, those men that have bought my lands, should not pass upon my trial; and therefore I desire they may make answer to it upon oath, whether any of them have adventured or no.

*Ser. Whitfield.* To desire, that a whole jury may be demanded such a question upon their oath, is that, that hath not been known. If my  
lord



lord Mac-Guire have cause now against any, he hath run out the liberty which the law gave him, to challenge 35 peremptorily. Now if he should challenge any more, he must make a particular challenge to every particular man that comes to be sworn, and he must have such a challenge notwithstanding as is warrantable by law; but this general challenge is not warrantable by law, and if it were particular, it were not warrantable neither.

*Ser. Roll.* If you will challenge any more, the law does not debar you to shew cause.

*Mac.* I conceive, that any that have given money in Ireland for my destruction, ought not to pass against me.

*Ser. Whit.* This is for the king, this is for no particular person whatsoever.

*Mac.* I beseech you hear me in it.

*Judge.* You know this, that the king cannot grant it without the consent of both houses, and in this case it may be put to the jury to try upon their oath. Thus far I shall agree, that if any of this jury be to have any particular benefit in Ireland, of land or goods by his attainder, it is good; but if his lands come to the king, and that the king is no way bound to give it to any of them, it is no challenge: look the statute.

*M. Prynne.* Under favour, Mr. justice Bacon, it doth not appear to the court that the prisoner hath any lands or goods in Ireland; and therefore no such question is to be demanded of the jury.

*Judge.* You may make needless disputes upon it.

Then the jury being accordingly required to answer upon oath, whether they had adventured,

ventured, or had any share in Ireland for the rebels land; Mac-Guire desired the question might be, whether they themselves, their children, or brothers? but that would not be agreed unto, as being unreasonable. Then the jury following was sworn:

|                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| J. Carpenter,      | William Barnes, |
| John Cooper,       | Robert Stiles,  |
| A. Cordall,        | George Norfolk, |
| Rich. Atkinson,    | Edw. Hudson,    |
| Josias Hendall,    | John Wait,      |
| William Greenwood, | Efah Risby.     |

The oath which they took, was this:

You shall well and truly try, and true deliverance make, between our sovereign lord the king, and Connor Mac-Guire, esq; now prisoner at the bar, and a true verdict give according to your evidence.

The jury being sworn, Mac-Guire moved that he might have a jury of 24; to which it was answered;

*Judge.* There have been 40 named.

*Mac.* Under favour, I conceive, I ought to be tried by 24; there were so many returned at first.

*Judge.* They returned 24; that is, because if any of them did fail, and some may be challenged, then there might be 12 left.

*Mac.* Under favour, I conceive, there should be 24 now left for my tryal.

*Judge.* You are deceived in that. You challenged 23, and so there were 40 more added; now you have challenged 12 of this 40, and out of them there remains so many as will make up a jury of 12.

Then

Then the court proceeded to his tryal, and the indictment against him was read. After which, the court proceeded, saying:

Gentlemen of the jury, upon this indictment he hath been arraigned, and to his arraignment he hath pleaded, not guilty, and thereupon put himself upon his country; and your charge is, to enquire whether he be guilty of the indictments, or any of them: if you find him not guilty, you are to declare it; if guilty, then you are to give in evidence against him.

M. N. Mr. judge Bacon. You observe by the record that hath been read to you, that the prisoner at the bar stands indicted of several treasons, wherein it is found, that Connor Mac-Guire, &c. as before in the indictment. Now, gentlemen, you of the jury, if it shall be proved to you, that the prisoner of the bar is guilty of all, or any of these treasons, then you are to give your evidence.

Then these witnesses following were sworn to give in evidence against the prisoner:

|                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| The lord Blaney,     | Sir Francis Hamilton, |
| Lady Caulfield,      | Sir Edward Borlacey,  |
| Sir Arthur Loftus,   | Sir William Cole,     |
| Sir John Temple,     | Sir Charles Coot,     |
| Sir William Stewart, | Mrs. Wordrofe,        |
| John Carmicks,       | Walter Gubson,        |
| M. Bunbury,          | Capt. Mich. Balfoure, |
| Captain Beristord.   |                       |

*Sir William Cole's Testimony.*

*Ser. Whitfield.* You know (sir William Cole) a great many of their names, which you have heard that were conspirators with this lord; what religion were they of?

Sir

CONNOR LORD MAC-GUIRE.

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*Sir W. Cole.* They were all papists.

*Ser. Whitfield.* Who were they?

*Sir W. Cole.* The lord Mac-Guire, sir Phil. O Neale, Roger Moore, &c.

*Ser. Whitfield.* Sir Francis Hamilton, upon what occasion was it, that the conspirators got an order to view the magazine?

*Sir F. Hamilton.* I was a member of the house of commons there, and I remember very well, there came a message from the house of lords to the house of commons, to let them know, that there was some plot for the blowing up of the parliament house in Ireland, and they sent a message, to desire that they might search under the parliament house: and there was a search made, and (as I remember) the lord Mac-Guire was one of the committee from the house of lords that made search there; but what they found, I do not know. Afterwards they desired that they might search the castle of Dublin, and other magazines.

*Counsel.* What was the cause?

*Sir F. Hamilton.* There was a coachman of my lord of Strafford's that had uttered some big words, (as was given out) that the parliament house should be blown up, but what was the ground, I am persuaded in my conscience, it was to know where the store and ammunition lay, that they might know where to surprize it.

*Sir William Steward's testimony.*

I was one of the committee that was sent by the parliament, and by order from the house of lords, to search the parliament house, and the lord Mac-Guire was one of the lords: they made a very strict search, and then they

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enquired



## THE TRYAL OF

enquired for the king's magazine, and I believe my lord Mac-Guire now here was one of the committee that went to search for the house of lords, and he did search very narrowly, and they were desirous to know where the store was.

The lord Blaney's testimony.

*Counsel.* Whether this search was moved by the lord Finghall and what was the end of it?

L. *Blaney.* So near as I can, I will give you the business, it is so long ago. This I remember, that there was one of the lords house, whether it was my lord Finghall, or my lord Macary, moved it, I cannot certainly depose, but I am sure it was one of them. The occasion was, one of the earl of Strafford's coachmen said, he hoped to see some of the lords blown up for it; it was about a fortnight after the earl of Strafford was beheaded here. Thereupon they got an order for it, and so they went down, and they did not find the powder, but they made as narrow a search as ever any was. I asked what the meaning was of this, for we had strange censures of it our selves. Says of them, the lord Clamorris, they are afraid of a powder-plot of the protestants. I answered, that I had heard of a powder-plot of the papists, but never of the protestants in my life. But if you ask the reason of it, it was to assure themselves of their strength, for we found by woful experience afterwards, it was their end. My lord Borlace said, let them not be afraid, for upon my honour there is no powder below. It is a great house, the house of commons sit on one side, and the lords on the other, and the block-house in the middle.

*Counsel.*

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*Counsel.* What religion is my lord Finghall, and my lord Clamorris of?

*L. Blaney.* The lord Finghall is a papist, and Clamorris a pestiferous papist!

*Ser. Whitfield.* All papists! we shall now read the examination of the manner of his taking, and then his own examination.

The first we shall read, is this of mr. Woodcock, that was sheriff of Dublin; he was in town, but he could not stay, but he was examined before this court.

The information of John Woodcock the 27th of October, 1644. taken upon oath before justice Bacon.

**T**HE said examine deposeth and saith, that he, being one of the sheriffs of the said city of Dublin, in the year 1641, having notice given him in the night; upon the 22d of October in the same year, of some great design intended, did by vertue of his office walk up and down the city that night; and coming to the house of one Nevill, a chirurgion in Castle-Street, he understood by the said Nevill, that the lord Mac-Guire with some 10 or 12 others were there: this examine told him, it was fit for his guests to be in bed at that time of night; but the said Nevill did bring this examine word, that the lord Mac-Guire and his company were then going to bed. The said examine departed, setting a watch near his house; by which watch he was informed, that the said lord Mac-Guire and the rest were gone from the house, and were at the house of one Kerne, a taylor: whereupon he searched the said house, and there found some hatchets with

the helves newly cut off close to the hatchets, five petronels, five or six swords, three or four small pistols, five or six skins, with other arms of the lord Mac-Guire's in an house of office in the said house; in another place divers pole-axes, and also behind a hen-roost some great weapons with sharp pikes of iron in one end of them, the said Kerne affirming that he knew nothing of any of the particulars before mentioned, nor how they came in his house. The said examine shewed all the said instruments unto the said lords justices and council of Ireland; and thereupon the said lords justices and council, commanded search to be made for the said lord Mac-Guire. Upon which the said examine, searching narrowly for him, at last found him in a cock-loft, with a cloak wrapt about him, standing by a bed, the door lockt upon him, there being no key to be found; as also the master of the house flying away, and making an escape to the enemy.

After this, the lord Mac-Guire's own examination was read, taken the 26th of March, 1642. (for as Sir John Temple declared to the court, the lord Mac-Guire was then brought to the council-board, and they could get nothing out of him) whereupon he was sent back to prison for that time.

# CONNOR LORD MAC GUIRE.

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The examination of Connor lord Mac-Guire, baron of Enniskillen, taken before us, Charles lord Lambert, and Sir Robert Meredith, knight, chancellor of his majesty's court of exchequer, the 26th day of march, 1642, by direction of the right honourable the lords justices and council.

**W**HO being examined, saith, that about the time when mr. John Bellew came out of England with the commission for the continuance of the present parliament, Roger Moore in the said Moore's chamber in the house of one Peter de Costres of this city, acquainted him, this examine, that if the Irish would rise, they might make their own conditions, for the regaining of their own lands, and freedom of their religion. At which time the said Moore also acquainted him this examine, that he had spoken with sundry of Leinster, who would be ready for that purpose, and withal told him, this examine, that he was assured a good part of Conaught would do the like, and thereupon moved this examine to join likewise with them, with all he could make unto which motion he, this examine, yielded. And the next day following there was a meeting in his, the said Moore's chamber aforesaid, where were col. Mac-Bryan, Macmahone, Tirlogh O'Neale, Philip Mac-Hugh O'Rely, this examine and Roger Moore, where discourse was had on that business, yet nothing concluded on, save that Roger Moore and the rest should go and prepare their parties. And this examine further saith, that about May last, he, this examine, Roger Moore, Philip O'Rely,



Rely, and Roger Mac-Guire, this examine's brother, dispatched a priest, one Toole O Conley, who lived in Leinster, unto Owen O Neale into Flanders, to acquaint him with the business concerning the general rebellion then in preparation; which said priest returned about a month before the time appointed for execution thereof. And the answer which the said priest brought from the said Owen O Neale was, that he would (fifteen days after the people were up) be with him, with his best assistance and arms. And it being demanded why the said Owen should bring arms, considering that the castle of Dublin was to be taken, with the arms therein; this examine answered, that they so provided for arms, that they might not want any, in case they could not take the said castle, whereof they doubted. And this examine acknowledged, that the castle of Dublin was to have been surprised by himself, capt. Brian O Neale, capt. Con O Neale, capt. Macmahone, one Owen O'Rely, Roger Moore, Hugh Macmahone, col. Plunket, and capt. Fox; and likewise further acknowledged, that Hugh mac-Phelim, capt. Con O Neale, and Bryan O Neale, brought from Owen O Neale, out of Flanders, the very same message which the said priest brought. And this examine further saith, that he was told by Roger Moore, that a great man was in the plot, but he might not name him for the present: and at another time, and during the sitting of the parliament the last summer, he, this examine, was informed by one John Barnwell, a franciscan friar, then resident in this city, that those of the Pale were also privy unto the plot, (meaning the present rebellion.)

bellion.) And lastly saith, that of those persons who came to attend him, this examine, for the surprise of the said castle of Dublin, only Cohonogh Mac-Guire was privy unto the business in hand; and that the last meeting (when the day appointed for execution thereof was resolved on) was at Logh-Rosse, where were present only Ever Macmahone, vicar-general of the diocese of Clogher, Thomas Mac-Kearnan, a friar of Dundalk, sir Phelim O Neale, Roger Moore, and Bryan O Neale.

*Concordat cum Originali.*  
*Ex, per Parl. Harris.*

Charles Lambert,  
Robert Meredith,

This being read, and opened unto the jury, being the lord Mac-Guire's free and voluntary confession, which he afterwards acknowledged since his coming to the tower, viz.

Memorandum, that this within written being shewed and read unto the within named lord Mac-Guire, and himself having perused the same, his lordship did acknowledge the same to be true in all things, saving that he doth not now acknowledge that Bernard told him, that those of the Pale were privy to the plot; neither doth acknowledge that Cohonogh Mac-Guire was privy to the plot before his coming to Dublin.

This examination and acknowledgment was made and taken the 22d day of June 1642.  
*Anno Regni Caroli Regis decimo Octavo* before us.

John Bramstone,  
Thomas Mallet,

In the presence of  
John Conyers,  
William Ayloffe,  
Nathaniel Finch,

## THE TRYAL OF

June 22, 1642.

The examination of Connor lord Mac-Guire, baron of Enniskillen, taken before sir John Bramstone, knight, lord chief justice of the king's-bench.

**W**HO saith, that he is of the age of twenty-six years and upwards, and that he was born in the county of Fermanagh in Ireland; and saith, that his examination taken at Dublin the 26th day of March 1642, before Charles lord Lambert, and sir Robert Meredith, with his acknowledgment thereof the 22d of June, before judge Bramstone, and justice Mallet, is true in such manner as in the said examination and acknowledgment is expressed.

Connor Mac-Guire.

The examination of Connor Mac-Guire, lord baron of Enniskillen in Ireland, taken before Isaac Pennington, esq; lieutenant of the tower of London, and Lawrence Whitaker, esq; two of his majesty's justices of the peace, for the county of Middlesex, the first day of October 1644.

**H**E denieth the receiving of any letters or messages out of England before the rebellion, nor did he ever hear of any. He saith, he was but a mean instrument in the design in Ireland; he confesseth, he intended to seize upon the castle of Dublin, and the magazine there, and keep it till they had redress of some grievances, which they purposed to propound to the parliament there; one whereof was, to have a toleration of the Roman catholick religion.

religion. He confesseth, that he came accidentally to Philip O'Rely's house, as he came up to Dublin; and, as he remembereth, Macmahone was then there, and that his intention of coming up to Dublin, was to put the afore said design in execution, and that then and there, they had speech about that design; but he remembereth not the particulars; which design was to be put in execution the 23d day of October in that year; and that he was taken there that very day, being Saturday upon search made for him, carried before the lords justices, examined, committed, and sent over into England.

He saith further, that he made his escape out of the tower of London, upon Sunday the 18th of August last, about four of the clock in the morning,

Isaac Pennington.

Lawrence Whitaker,

John Carmick's testimony.

**T**HAT upon the 21st of October, 1641, Fergus O Howen, one of the followers of Brian Mac-Guire, esq; came to his chamber in the castle of Enniskillen, and after he had endeavoured to bind him to keep secret a matter of great concernment, which Fergus said he had to disclose, and particularly to conceal it from sir William Cole, and all other Englishmen; this examine told him, he would be secret so far as it went with his allegiance and conscience. He discovered unto the said examine, that the lord Mac-Guire and Hugh Oge Macmahone, accompanied with several Irishmen of the counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan, did take their journeys out of the said counties upon the 19th and 20th days of October,

2641,



1641, to the city of Dublin, with resolution and intent to murder and kill his highness's lords justices and council of the kingdom of Ireland, and the rest of the protestants there; and also to possess themselves of the city of Dublin, and to put all the protestants there likewise to the sword: and that to that effect there were other great men, and others of the papists of that kingdom to repair unto, and meet them in Dublin on Saturday, 23 October 1641, or thereabouts; and that all the castles, forts, sea-ports and holds that were in the possession of the protestants in the several counties and provinces in the kingdom of Ireland, were then also designed and resolved to be surpris'd and taken by the Irish papists; and the protestants in every of those castles, forts, sea-ports and holds, to be then also put all to the sword by the Irish papists in Ireland in their own several parts and limits, by men thereunto chiefly and particularly appointed by the contrivers thereof: and that especially the town and castle of Enniskillen, with the rest, would be taken, and all the protestants in it put to the sword; and therefore advis'd the examinee to get himself and goods out of the town: whereat the examinee smiling, Fergus bid him not to slight it, for he could assure those things would come to pass in seven days, or else he would be bound to lose his head. Whereupon the said Fergus O Howen departed, and the examinee acquainting sir William Cole with it, there came one Flartagh Mac-Hugh, a gentleman and freeholder of that county, and affirm'd to the same effect to sir William Cole, that the plot for surpris'ing of the city and castle of Dublin, the castle of Enniskillen, and all the castles and strengths  
in

in Ireland, was to be put in full execution by the papists October 22 and 23, 1641, throughout the said kingdom; and that Brian Mac-Conaght Mac-Guire, esq; did send him the said Flartagh Mac-Hugh to give notice and warning thereof to the said sir William Cole, whom he earnestly desired to be upon his guard upon Friday the 22d and Saturday the 23d of October; for the lord Mac-Guire was gone with Macmahone and others that week with purpose to possess themselves of the castle and city of Dublin, and the lord Mac-Guire had written his letters to Con O Bourke, Owen O Roreicke, Mortagh Oge O Fantagon, and others, to go on with that plot in those parts; and had appointed his brother Rori Mac-Guire (in his absence) to command the Irish papists in the county of Fermanagh, for the surprising of the castles and houses of the protestants. Of all which sir William advertised the lords justices and council of Ireland the same day. And this examine saith, that captain Mac-Hugh, seven or eight days before the rebellion broke forth, declared, that the lord Mac-Guire posted letters, and rode up and down to divers gentlemen, and others of that county, to be very active in the business. That it was averred upon the oaths of Flartagh Mac-Hugh, John Oge Mac-Hugh, and Terlagh Oge Mac-Hugh, before the said sir William Cole, that one hundred and fifty men were appointed to surprise the castle of Enniskillen, under the leading of Don Mac-Guire, and Rori Mac-Guire, who were to murder the said sir William Cole, and his wife, children, and servants, and throw them over the wall into the river, and then to do the like unto the protestants in the town  
and

and corporation of Enniskillen: for which service they were not only to have the spoil and riches of the said castle and town, but to have also the barony of Clanawley granted and confirmed in fee to them and their heirs, from the said lord Mac-Guire and his heirs. The examine then also produced a letter written in Irish, from the lord Mac-Guire, to his cousin Brian Mac-Guire, wherein taking notice, that he was abundantly inclined to the English, which did very much trouble him; and therefore desired him to banish such thoughts out of his mind, and not to pursue those resolutions which in the end might be his own destruction, as he thought it would be to all those that did not appear.

Presently after, upon the 29th of October, one captain Rori Mac-Guire took upon him the managing of all businesses in his absence; he fortifies first the castle Hasen, the house wherein he dwelt himself, he took in the castle of one Edward Aldrith; esq; he put out all the English there; he went to the town, burnt that, but kill'd none of the men; went thence to another place, and hanged one Eleazar M. one that was clerk of the peace of the county; and from thence he went to Newtown, four miles off from it, took in the town, stript and disarmed all the protestants that were in the church, the next day after marched away, and killed and destroyed most of the English in those parts; murdered Arthur Champion, esq; and many more. Twenty-two castles were seized upon, and the church of Monah, with eighteen protestants burnt in it: seven hundred and sixty-four protestants were destroyed in that county; and I did hear there was

was about 152000, that they had destroyed in that province of Ulster, in the first four months of the rebellion.

JOHN CARMICK.

Then sir William Cole (being present in court) gave in his evidence, much to the same effect as in Carmick's testimony.

*Ser. Whitfield.* We desire to shorten, we have a great many witnesses; we shall go upon these particulars. First, captain O Neale's landing in Ireland, and what he brought with him. Secondly, Keilagh and Cragan. Lastly, how long besieged, and how many murdered.

Then sir William Steward gave in testimony to this effect:

That Con Owen O Neale landed in July the same year the rebellion began, brought many commanders, much arms and ammunition; many of his commanders, nine of the chief of them, were taken prisoners at one battle.

*Ser. Whitfield.* It is his own confession, that he sent a priest over to fetch arms to come into Ireland.

[Then the lady Caulfield was desired to declare her knowledge concerning the taking of Charlemont castle.

*Lady Caulfield.* The 23d of October, 1641, sir Phelim O Neale and others came into the castle, they seized upon all, murdered his servants; and those that were alive, they bound them, and put them in prison; and at that time, sir Phelim O Neale himself, and other of his companions, told her, that Dublin castle and city, and most other forts of Ireland



land were surpris'd by their confederates the papists; and that he was sorry for his cousin the lord Mac-Guire, and that he was afraid he was taken.

*Ser. Whitfield.* What was done with my lord Caulfield?

*Lady Caulfield.* He was murdered; he begged for his life, and they durst not but do it.

*Ser. Whitfield.* When sir Phelim O Neale had taken my lord Caulfield, then they got this lady to write to the lords justices, that my lord Mac-Guire might be exchanged for her son, but that would not be; and thereupon they murdered my lord Caulfield, Francis Davies, and others.

*Mrs. Mary Wordrofe's testimony.*

That he came on Friday night about 10 or 11 o'clock, to break into the castle; I hearing the noise, asked what was the matter? I went to call up some of our gentlemen; when I came in again, they had taken some of our gentlemen, and bound them.

She also testified the murdering of the lord Caulfield, Francis Davies, and others; and the former words concerning the lord Mac-Guire.

*Ser. Whitfield.* These two witnesses prove that of Charlemont, how far the rebels owned the lord Mac-Guire, as to endeavour his exchange. We shall now come to the other castles, how long they besieged them, and who was murdered.

*Walter Gubson's testimony.*

They besieged it a quarter of a year before they took it; divers of the chief conspirators,

tors, and Powell, and Cosens, took the castle by force in an hostile manner.

Sir Francis Hamilton's testimony.

Philip O Rely came to the castle, to Keilagh and Cragan castles, and they lay before it a quarter of a year, with 2000 or 3000 men, sometimes 1500, but never less.

Sir Charles Coot's testimony concerning the generality of the rebellion.

Sir Phelim O Neale and Roger Moore were the actors in the massacres, and by publick directions of some in place, and of the titular bishops, for the sending of an exact account of what persons were murdered throughout all Ulster, a fourth part of the kingdom of Ireland, to the parish priests in every parish; and they sent in a particular account of it, and the account was, 104700 in one province, in the first three months of the rebellion.

*Ser. Whitfield.* What say you concerning the general council, and the pope's bull.

*Sir Charles Coot.* The supreme council they took up a new form of government upon them of their own; and by this authority it was granted to the lady Mac-Guire, that she should have the rent of such lands in recompence of the loss that he was at in their causes. - They have made several judges of their own courts: they print, they coin, they do all in their own names,

THE TRYAL OF  
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 COPY of the POPE's BULL

*Ad futuram Rei Memoriam,*

*Urbanus Octavus, &c.*

HAVING taken into our serious consideration the great zeal of the Irish towards the propagating of the catholick faith, and the piety of the catholick warriors in the severall armies of that kingdom, (which was for that singular fervency in the true worship of God, and notable care had formerly in the like case, by the inhabitants thereof, for the maintenance and preservation of the same orthodox faith, called of old "the land of saints;") and having got certain notice how, in imitation of their Godly and worthy ancestors, they endeavour by force of arms to deliver their thrall'd nation from the oppressions, and grievous injuries of the hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted, and heavily burthened, and gallantly do in them what lieth to extirpate, and totally root out those workers of iniquity, who in the kingdom of Ireland had infected, and are always striving to infect the mass of catholick purity, with the pestiferous leaven of their heretical contagion: we therefore being willing to cherish them with the gifts of those spiritual graces, whereof by God we are ordained the only disposer on earth, by the mercy of the same almighty God, trusting in the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul; and by  
 vertue

vertue of that power of binding and loosing of souls, which God was pleased (without our deserving) to confer upon us; to all and every one of the faithful christians in the foresaid kingdom of Ireland now, and for the time militating against the hereticks, and other enemies of the catholick faith, they being truly and sincerely penitent, after confession, and the spiritual refreshing of themselves with the sacred communion of the body and blood of Christ, do grant a full and plenary indulgence, and absolute remission for all their sins, and such as in the holy time of jubilee, is usual to be granted to those that devoutly visit a certain number of privileged churches, within and without the walls of our city of Rome: by the tenour of which present letters, for once only and no more, we freely bestow the favour of this absolution, upon all and every one of them; and withal, desiring heartily all the faithful in Christ, now in arms as aforesaid, to be partakers of this most precious treasure.

To all and every one of these foresaid faithful christians, we grant license, and give power to choose unto themselves, for this effect, any fit confessor, whether a secular priest, or a regular of some order; as likewise any other selected person approved of by the ordinary of the place: who, after a diligent hearing of their confessions, shall have power to liberate and absolve them from excommunication, suspension, and all other ecclesiastical sentences and censures, by whomsoever, or for what cause soever pronounced, or inflicted upon them; as also from all sins, trespasses, transgressions, crimes and delinquencies, how heinous and atrocious soever

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they be, not omitting those very enormities in the most peculiar cases which by any whatsoever former constitutions of ours, or of our predecessor popes (than which we will have these to be no less valued in every point) were designed to be reserved to the ordinary, or to the apostolick see, from all which the confessor shall hereby have power granted him to absolve the foresaid catholicks at the bar of conscience, and in that sense only. And furthermore, we give them power to exchange what vow or vows soever they were formerly astricted to, (those of religion and chastity excepted) into any other pious and good work or works, imposed or to be imposed on them, and every one of them to perform in all the aforesaid cases by a whole some penance, according to the mind and will of the confessor.

Therefore, by the tenour of these present letters, and by the vertue of that holy strict obedience, wherein all christians are bound unto us, we charge and command all and every one of the reverend brethren, archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical prelates, and whatsoever ordinaries of places now residing in Ireland, together with all vicars, substitutes and officials under them; or these failing, we command all such to whom in those places the care of souls is incumbent; that as soon as they shall have received the copies of these our letters, they shall forthwith without any stop or delay, publish them, and cause them to be published throughout all their churches, diocesses, provinces, countries, cities, towns, lands, villages, and places whatsoever.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless, we do not intend by these present letters, where any publick or secret irregularity is made known, or any defection, apostacy, incapacity or inability in any manner of way contracted, to dispense therewith, or grant to any other, any power or faculty of dispensation, rehabilitation, or restoring the delinquent to his former condition, though but at the bar of conscience: neither can nor should these our present letters avail or be steadable to those, who by us and the apostolick see, or by any prelate or ecclesiastick judge, have been excommunicated, suspended, interdicted, or declared, and publickly denounced to have justly incurred the sentences and censures of the church, till first they have satisfied and agreed with the parties therein concerned, notwithstanding all other constitutions and apostolical ordinations; whereby, nevertheless, the faculty of absolution in these, as well as other expressed cases is so reserved to his holiness, the pope, for the time being, that no kind of jubilee nor power of granting such indulgences can in any sort avail, unless express mention be made of the fault or faults in particular, and the whole tenour of them fully deduced by an individual relation from word to word, and not by general clauses importing the same thing. This, or some other requisite form of the like nature being carefully observed, we in that case especially, expressly, and namely, by the effect of these presents, do totally abolish and remit them all and every one of them their offences, notwithstanding any thing to the contrary.

Now that these principal letters of ours, which cannot be conveniently brought to

every place, may the sooner come to the notice of all, our will and pleasure is, that any whatsoever copies or transumps, whether written or printed, that are subscribed by the hand of a publick notary, and which have the seal of some eminent person in ecclesiastical dignity affixed thereunto, be of the same force, power, and authority, and have the like credit in every respect given unto them, as would be to these our principal letters, if they were shewed and exhibited.

Dated at Rome in the vatican, or St. Peter's palace, the 25th of May, 1643. and in the 20th year of our pontificate.

M. A. Maraldus.

*Ser. Whitfield.* We have troubled you with a long relation of the actions of the confederates with the lord Mac-Guire, though not done in his own person, and his own particular act; but for this that was done by the generality, I heard my lord say at the bar, what is that to me? yes, my lord, this is to you; you were one of the conspirators in the first plot, and you contrived the business. And that had been treason alone, to send the priest to fetch Owen O Neale into Ireland, with arms and foldiers; but you contrived this, and conspired it, and you are as guilty in law, of all these cruel murders, and burnings in every place: for the law of England is, in treason you are all principals, no accessaries. Your son was there, your lady is rewarded; for the supreme council they have taken care of you: why! because you were one of the first complotters of it; and this will light upon you, and fall very heavy.

And

And for your exchange, it was propounded for the lord Caulfield; but when they could not have that agreed upon, then what becomes of the poor lord Caulfield? murdered too! and you see what encouragement you have from the complotters, and from the devil too; for they were both together in it. And now you have seen the indictment fully made good.

Then the lord Mac-Guire proceeded to make his defence, wherein he first of all denied his examination, (altho' testified as before by so many credible witnesses) and said, that he knew no such examination.

That at the time of his apprehension at Dublin, he came about his own particular occasions, as his estate was in danger, if he did not follow it; that because he was found about the city, he was therefore apprehended; that his lodging was not within the city, but he lodged without the city; that he did lodge at Mr. Nevill's house formerly, but not at this time; that for some of the places mentioned, where he should be about the conspiracy, he had not been there a year before, he was certain of it. For the number of protestants that were mentioned to be slain, he said he did not think there were so many protestants in the whole kingdom. That he was continually either at his own house, or at Dublin, and knew nothing of the plot but by hear-say.

*Judge.* You confess in your examination, when the day was for the rising, that you were in the conspiracy, and appointed for the taking of Dublin castle; and that you were taken when you came about it: also you rode about it, and provided arms.



*Mac.* I was in the house in the cock-loft where I was taken; I did not know where any army was.

*Ser. Whitfield.* My lord Mac-Guire does forget himself, what he acknowledges under his own hand.

Then the examination being shewed him, he said, there is my name but not my hand.

*Judge.* I am sorry to hear it; I did rather expect, that you should have acknowledged it; here are two able witnesses that can testify it against you; your denying your own hand, which is so manifestly proved, will be a great discredit to what you say: you acknowledged it at two several times.

*Mac.* What did I acknowledge?

*Judge.* You say that you came to Dublin to settle your estate: by your own examination you acknowledge, that the castle of Dublin was to be surpris'd by your self.

*Judge.* It is now time we should draw to the jury: you hear my lord Bramstone and my brother Finch here justify it to you.

Then my lord Mac-Guire's examination was shewed to my lord Blaney, being present in court, demanding whether he thought it to be Mac-Guire's hand or no?

*Lord Blaney.* It is my lord's own hand, he hath written to me many letters.

*Mac.* I don't think I have written many letters to your lordship.

*Judge.* Gentlemen of the jury, you may go to the business; if there were nothing but that you see in this case, but what is in the examination, if you believe it to be his; his confession does acknowledge it: you hear this by the testimony of my lord Bramstone, and my brother Finch expressly, that were present when he did acknowledge it, and set his

his hand to it; and yet you see, though it is here proved by my lord Blaney, he denies it. If you find this to be true, here is treason enough; and too much too; for he does here confess, that Roger Moore did acquaint him, that if the Irish did rise, they might make their own conditions for regaining their lands: and he acquainted him, that he had spoken with sundry in Leinster, that would be ready for that purpose; and that a great part of Connaught would do the like: and then moved him (this lord) the prisoner at the bar, to join likewise with him, which he did; so then was the plot. The next day they met; he goes to Moore's chamber again, where col. mac-Brian, Macmahone, and others, had discourse again about it; then he says, that they did send over to Owen O'Neal, to acquaint him concerning the general rebellion in Ireland, then in preparation. He confesses expressly, that being demanded why the said Owen should bring over arms, seeing the castle of Dublin was to be surprised, he answered, that they so provided arms, that they might not want any thing, if they should not take it, whereof they doubted. And then you have him acknowledging, that the castle of Dublin was to be surprised by himself, and captain Brian O'Neale, and others. These words shew here expressly, that the day whereon the execution was appointed, by the lord Mac-Guire's own confession, he was come to Dublin for the surprise of the castle. So that it is apparent, that he was about this plot expressly. If this be true, that you did conspire to make war or rebellion within that kingdom, though you were taken yourself before it was executed, yet it was your own conspiracy: and besides, endeavouring

after that to bring it to perfection, by sending over for arms; all these do discover your own intention to execute it.

*Mac.* I confess it not, I refer myself to the Jury.

*Judge.* Gentlemen, you are to know, that to conspire to raise a war, if any of that conspiracy do act it, as you see here sir Phelim O Neal did, if you observe the testimony of my lady Caulfield, he came and surprised the castle of Charlemont, and then it was given out, that my lord Mac-Guire had taken Dublin; so that though it did not take effect, that which is done by any, is testimony enough.

Go together and consider of it.

Upon this the jury went together, and staying a short space, returned their verdict, which was, that they found him guilty of all the treasons according to the indictment.

*Clerk.* Connor Mac-Guire, alias Cornelius Mac-Guire, thou hast been indicted for several high treasons, and thou hast been arraigned. Upon the arraignment thou hast pleaded not guilty; and for thy tryal hast put thyself upon thy country, which country have found thee guilty, according to the indictment; therefore prepare thyself to receive the sentence.

*Mac.* I desire to know by what law?

*Judge.* The law is well enough known: that is a treason within the statute without doubt.

*Mac.* I was not tried by my peers.

*Judge.* This is a general exception, formerly annexed in your plea; if you can shew some particular cause also, you shall be heard.

*Mac.*

*Mac.* I desire counsel to advise me.

*Judge.* When you did put in a plea therein, you had counsel to advise you in your plea, and to argue it; now your time is past for counsel; you must have none assigned to pick holes in the indictment.

*Mac.* I desire the court would consider of it, before they proceed to sentence.

*Judge.* You offer nothing to the court that is of any difficulty; you had counsel, whether you should be tried by your peers, or the jury here; which jury are to try any man under a nobleman in this kingdom.

*Mac.* I desire to know under what seal you thus proceed against me; for I think you sit here by the new seal.

*Judge.* What seal do you mean? I sit here by vertue of the old, by order of parliament.

*Mac.* Under favour, I conceive, that the ordinance of parliament for the new seal, makes all done by the old seal to be void.

*Judge.* Here is nothing done but by good authority, and the parliament's approbation.

*Mac.* I conceive the ordinance for the new seal cuts off all proceedings of the old.

*Judge.* My authority is not cut off: I was made by the old seal, before there was any new seal, and so I am continued by the parliament; and the parliament did take notice that I have been allowed to sit. Besides this, there is nothing done in this court by the new seal: the sheriffs are here by a charter, and that comes in from year to year; and there is no seal in order of execution.

*Judge.* Well, if you have nothing to say for yourself, I am to pronounce sentence, as I am a minister of justice. You have been indicted here for several treasons contained in your indictment,



dictment, as was here of late read unto you ; and you have had a fair proceeding, and very deliberately : for your indictment came in about Alhallowmas last, three weeks or a month before the end of the last term, three weeks at least. You then made a question, whether you ought to be tried by your peers in Ireland, or a jury here ? the court did so far deliberate in it, as to allow you counsel to plead with the best advantage you could : and afterwards, this term, there hath been two arguments at the bar on each side ; where hath been said as much for you as can be. The court over-ruled that, and so you are tried by a jury ; and you had the liberty to challenge them, and had all the advantages that the law will afford, and take all the exceptions you could. Truly, for my part, I see that there is not any one of them for me to sway the judgment : the treason and the offences that you are charged withal, are very heinous, your crimes very impious ; great destruction hath followed upon your plot, which the jury have found you guilty of. What a mighty cruel war and great devastation in that kingdom ! most horrid to speak or rehearse ! it is fitter for you now to bethink yourself, what your offences are, and prepare yourself for death, rather than seek to mask or put colours upon those things which are so manifestly proved to all the world. And now you are found guilty ; and therefore there is no contradiction or gain-saying will avail you : you ought to repent, and pray to God to forgive that offence whereof you are guilty. The judgment that I am by the law to pronounce against you is this: Connor Mac-Guire, esq; you being found guilty of the treasons

treasons whereof you are indicted, your judgment is, that you shall be carried from hence to the place from whence you came, that is, the Tower, and from thence to Tyburn, the place of execution; and there you shall be hanged by the neck, and cut down alive, your bowels taken out, and burnt before your face, your head to be cut off, your body to be divided into four quarters, and the head of your body to be set up and disposed of, as the state shall appoint. "And the Lord have mercy upon your soul."

After judgment pronounced, the king's counsel demanded of him, whether he would have any ministers come to him, to prepare him for his end, and to advise him for the good of his soul.

*Mac.* I desire none of them: but I desire I may be sent prisoner to Newgate.

*Counsel.* His reason is, because there are some popish priests there.

*Judge.* That cannot be: your judgment is to return to the Tower; where you may have ministers (if you please) to advise you for your soul.

*Mac.* I desire you, that some gentlemen of my own religion may have access to me, to confer with me; and some who are my fellow-prisoners in the Tower, to speak with me in my keeper's presence.

*Judge.* You must name some body in particular.

*Mac.* I desire to confer with Mr. Walter Montague. [Belike he knew him to be a popish priest or jesuit.]

*Judge.* You must prepare yourself to die against Saturday next.

*Mac.*

## THE TRYAL OF

*Mac.* I desire a fortnight's time to prepare myself.

*Judge.* That is too long a space, and I cannot grant it; but you shall have convenient time.

*Mac.* I desire you that I may have three days notice at least, to prepare myself.

*Judge.* You shall have three days warning; but however delay no time to prepare yourself.

*Mac.* I desire my execution may be altered, and not according to the judgment; and that I may not be hanged and quartered.

*Judge.* This lies not in my power to grant; but here are some members of the house of commons in court, and you are best address yourself to them, that they may acquaint the house with your desires.

*Mac.* I shall desire the gentlemen of the house of commons, so many as are here, to move the house in my behalf, that I may have a fortnight's time to prepare myself, and that the manner of my execution may be changed.

*Sir John Clotworthy.* My lord, I have been your school-fellow heretofore, and have found some ingenuity in you; and I have seen some letters of yours, importing some remorse of conscience in you for this fact; and I should be glad to discern the like ingenuity in you still: and shall move the house, that you may have some ministers appointed to come to you; and likewise acquaint them with your other desires.

Then the prisoner departing from the bar, Mr. Prynne advising him to confer with some Godly ministers for the good and comfort of his soul; he answered, that he would have  
none

none at all, unless he might have some romish priests of his own religion.

To which Mr. Prynne replied, my lord, these romish priests are the chief instruments who have advised you to plot and perpetrate those execrable treasons for which you are now condemned, and have brought upon you that shameful judgment of a traytor, the execution whereof you even now so earnestly deprecated. Since then they have proved such evil destructive counsellours, to you in your life, you have great reason to disclaim them with their bloody religion, and to seek out better advisers for you at your death, lest you eternally lose your soul, as well as your life, for the blood of those many thousand innocents which have been shed by your means. To which he, pausing a little, answered, that he was resolved in his way. Whereupon another lawyer said, my lord, you were best to hear both sides. To which he answered, in an obstinate manner, I am settled on one side already, and therefore I desire not to confer with any other. And so departed through the hall towards the tower, the people crowding and running about to behold his person.

After the sentence pronounced against the lord Mac-Guire, as before said, he petitioned the parliament, as followeth.

To



## HIS EXECUTION.

To the right honourable the lords and commons now assembled in parliament.

The humble petition of the lord Mac-Guire;

Humbly sheweth,

Ma-Guire's  
petition to  
be behead-  
ed.

**T**HAT your petitioner stands condemn-  
ed for his life, and adjudged to be  
drawn, hanged and quartered: the perfor-  
mance whereof (he humbly conceives) in some  
more favourable manner, will be satisfactory  
to justice. And forasmuch as your petitioner  
hath hitherto enjoyed the degree and dignity  
of a lord, which he humbly conceives your  
lordships are well acquainted with:

In tender consideration whereof, he desir-  
eth that your honours would graciously be  
pleased, in mercy, to mitigate the rigour of  
his sentence, and turn it to that degree which  
most befits the denomination he hath: and  
as he hath been looked on by the eye of  
justice in his condemnation, so in this parti-  
cular he may be pitied, and have mercy.

And he shall ever pray, &c.

CORNELIUS MAC-GUIRE.

His petition  
Rejected.

**B**UT this petition was rejected by the par-  
liament, and on Thursday, February the  
20th, he was drawn on a sledge from the  
tower through London, and so to Tyburn;  
where being removed into a cart, he knelt  
and prayed a while: after which sheriff Gibbs  
spake to him, representing the heinousness of  
his crimes, and the vast number that had been  
murdered

murdered by that conspiracy for which he was to suffer, and therefore exhorted him to express his sorrow for it: in answer to which he said, I desire almighty God to forgive me my sins.

*Sheriff Gibbs.* Do you believe you did well in those wicked actions?

*Mac-Guire.* I have but a short time, do not trouble me.

*Sher.* Sir, it is but just I should trouble you, that you may not be troubled for ever?

*Mac.* I beseech you, sir! trouble me not, I have but a little time to spend.

*Sher.* Sir, I shall give you as much time after, as you shall spend to give satisfaction to the people; I do require you, as an instrument set in God's stead here, to make an acknowledgment to the people, whether you are sorry for what you have done, or no? whether it be good or no?

*Mac.* I beseech you do not trouble me; I am not disposed to give you an account. Pray give me leave to pray.

*Doctor Sibbald.* Give glory to God, that your soul may not be presented to God with the blood of so many thousand people.

*Sher.* You are either to go to heaven or hell; if you make not an ingenuous confession, your case is desperate: had you any commission or no?

*Mac.* I tell you that there was no commission that ever I saw.

*Sher.* Who were actors or plotters with you, or gave you any commission?

*Mac.* For God's sake, give me leave to depart in peace.

Then they asked him if he had not some pardon or bull from the pope for what he did:

to

to which he only answered, I am not of the same religion with you. And being further urged about a bull or pardon, said, I saw none of it; all that I knew, I delivered in my examinations; all that I said in my examinations are true; all that I said is right; I beseech you let me depart in peace; and so not returning them any answer to their questions, he continued mumbling over a paper which he had in his hand, as he had done from his first coming. The sheriff commanded his pockets to be searched, whether he had a bull or pardon about him, but they found in his pockets only some beads and a crucifix, which were taken from him: and then doctor Sibbald said to him, come my lord, leave those and acknowledge your offence to God and the world; one drop of the blood of Jesus Christ is able to purge away all the heavy load of blood that is upon you; it is not your *Ave Maria's*, nor these things will do you any good: but it is *Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata Mundi*. The lord Mac-Guire seemed not to regard his discourse, but read out of his paper to the people as followeth.

‘ Since I am here to die, I desire to depart  
 ‘ with a quiet mind, and with the marks of a  
 ‘ good christian, that is, asking forgiveness  
 ‘ first of God, and next of the world. And  
 ‘ I do forgive (from the bottom of my heart)  
 ‘ all my enemies and offenders, even those  
 ‘ that have an hand in my death. I die a  
 ‘ Roman catholick, and although I have been  
 ‘ a great sinner, yet am I now by God’s grace,  
 ‘ heartily sorry for all my sins, and I do  
 ‘ most confidently trust to be saved, not by  
 ‘ my own works, but only by the passion,  
 ‘ merits

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‘merits and mercy of my dear Saviour Jesus Christ, into whose hand I commend my soul.’

And then added, ‘I beseech you gentlemen, let me have a little time to say my prayers.’

*Sher.* Sir, if you answer ingeniously to those questions we shall ask you, you shall have time afterwards. Whether do you account the shedding of the protestants blood to be a sin or not? and whether you desire pardon of God for that sin?

*Mac.* I do desire pardon of God for all my sins; I cannot resolve you in any thing for my part.

*Sher.* You can tell what your conscience dictates to you; do you think it was a sin or not?

*Mac.* For my part I cannot determine it.

*Sher.* Then now it seems nothing to you to kill so many?

*Mac.* How do you mean killing of them? to tell you my mind directly, for the killing I do not know that, but I think the Irish had a just cause for their wars.

*Sher.* Was there any assault made upon you? had you not entered into a covenant? had you not engaged by oath yourself to the king?

*Mac.* For Jesus Christ’s sake, I beseech you to give me a little time to prepare myself.

*Sher.* Have pity upon your own soul.

*Mac.* For God’s sake have pity upon me, and let me say my prayers.

*Sher.* I say the like to you, in relation to your own soul; whether you think the massacre of so many thousand protestants was a good act? for Jesus Christ’s sake have pity upon your own soul.

D d

*Mac.*



## HIS EXECUTION.

*Mac.* Pray let me have a little time to say my prayers.

All this while his eye was mostly upon his papers, mumbling over something out of them to himself; whereupon one of the sheriffs demanding those papers of him, he flung them down. They were taken up and given to the sheriff, and a copy of them hereafter follows. They asked him further, whether there was not some agreement with the recusants here in England? whereunto he answered, I take it upon my death, I do not know that any man knew of it; and after some other such like talk, the sheriff bidding him prepare himself for death, he said, 'I do beseech all the catholicks that are here to pray for me, I beseech God to have mercy upon my soul.' And so was executed.

Copy of the papers which the lord Mac-Guire carried in his hand to the place of execution, which were delivered to the sheriffs,

[A letter of some of the friends of the lord Mac-Guire, who it seems intended to attend him to the place of execution.]

Most loving sir,

Mac-guire's  
Papers carried in his  
Hand to the  
place of execution, directing his  
Devotion.

**M**Y master his coach shall wait on you infallibly. That day your friend William shall go by coach all the way, upon a red horse, with a white hat, and in a grey jacket; and then you cannot choose (by the grace of God) but to know the coach, of two whitish horses, and then you may do, or shew that token only, as to lift up to your face your hand, nodding (or inclining down) your head, and

## HIS EXECUTION.

and there shall go two or three (divers) coaches for the same purpose, and be sure to have plenary physick as you desire. I send you this holy stone, by virtue whereof you may gain a plenary physick, in saying any certain prayer. I beseech you, dear sir, be of good courage, for you shall not want any thing, for that happy journey, and offer you yourself wholly for him, who did the same for you. Pray earnestly for your country, and for your own sons, that God may prosper them. I do humbly intreat you to pray for me, your own poor afflicted servant,

Your poor GRAY.

You shall do well to send your letters tomorrow to that young man that comes to me, and the wooden cross that I have sent there of late; I beseech you send me word, whether the reliquary that came along with those two crosses was yours or your companion's Mac-Mohun Hugh.

This was in the margin of the Letter, as it were a postscript.

These words following were in an Irish character.

*Mo mhile beannacht chugad a mbic mbanma.*

In English.

My Thousand Blessings unto you, son of my soul,

The following paper was only in Latin, but here englished verbatim,

**B**eloved son in Christ,  
believe Almighty God,  
who governs all the  
World by his eternal  
Providence, hath ap-

**C**REDE (Dilecte  
in Christo fili)  
Deum optimum, max-  
imum qui mundum  
hunc universum ater-

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pointed this way to thy salvation, and this manner of death, though he could have brought thee to the land of bliss, by another way, knew this to be more expedient. Therefore (my son) thou shouldst suffer this kind of glorious death which thy God hath ordained for thee, with an elevated mind, yea, thou shouldst desire it; certainly this kind of death is a great mercy of God; is it not a special gift of God, to have a certain time of sorrow and repentance for offences committed? oh! with how great a desire did the kingly prophet, David, wish that he might know the length of his days! expostulating thus with God, "make me O lord, to know my end, and the number of my days." This kind of death is granted to many, who rather with a perverse mind, and by an unforeseen death fall to suffer everlasting punishment, psal. 36. David being weary of the miseries and dangers of this pre-

naquadam mentis provisione moderatur; hanc salutis tuæ viam: et hunc modum moriendi, statuisse, qui quidem quamvis te ad felicitati; patriam alio tramite ducere potuisset, magis hoc tibi expedire præcognovit. Ergo (mi fili) hoc genus gloriosum mortis, quod dominus deus sic tibi ornavit, erecto animo perferas, quin etiam exoptes. Certè huiusmodi mori magnum dei beneficium est; nonne speciale donum dei est, habere certum tempus dolendi et penitendi de offensis commissis contra suam divinam maiestatem? O! quanto desiderio expostulavit sibi dari certum et notum vitæ suæ spatium regius propheta David, expostulans a deo sic! notum fac mihi domine finem meum et numerum dierum meorum. Hoc genus mortis enim quamplurimis est concessum, qui perverso potius

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potius animo impro-  
visa morte eccide-  
runt, penas daturi  
sempiternas. Davidus  
pertusus miseriis et  
periculis presentis vi-  
tæ, dicebat, heu mi-  
hi quia incolatus me-  
us prolongatus est,  
quasi longum illi vi-  
deretur tempus exilii.  
beatus Paulus dicebat,  
infelix ego, quis me  
liberabit à corpore  
mortis huius? et ex  
desiderio vivendi in  
terris viventium, di-  
cebat, cupio dissolvi  
et esse cum Christo.  
Ideo (mi domine) hanc  
mortem qua tibi jam  
imminet, equo ani-  
mo pro Christo acer-  
biter pro te mortuo-  
feras, hanc, amarissi-  
mam Christi mortem  
tormenta, & cæteris  
oculis tui cordis ser-  
venter me dictare,  
Vide, —

*sent life, said, wo is  
me! because my pilgri-  
mage is prolonged, as if  
the time of his banish-  
ment seemed long; be-  
sides Paul says, O  
wretched man that I  
am, who shall deliver  
me from this body of  
death, Rom. 7. And  
out of living in the land  
of the living he said, I  
desire to be dissolved and  
to be with Christ.  
Therefore (my lord) I  
bear this death which  
now hangs over head  
with a quiet mind, for  
Christ died for you;  
therefore fervently me-  
ditate with the eyes of  
your heart, upon this  
bitter death of Christ;  
and his torments, See,*

These lines following were written on the  
back-side of the paper, part of it being  
before torn, and no more brought by  
him than what is here.

—gni sui te promo-  
veret, & dicas, in ma-

*—his kingdom shall  
move thee, and say, into  
thy*



thy hands I commend my spirit, thou hast redeemed me, O lord God of truth; thou hast created me, O my God, thou hast redeemed me, O most holy Father. I am all thine, let thy will be done in me; illuminate mine eyes that I may never sleep in death. Thou shalt invoke the blessed Mary for thy helper, saying Mary the mother of grace, the mother of mercy, do thou protect us from the enemy, and receive us in the hour of death; thou shalt invoke also Saint Michael the archangel and the angel thy keeper, and the holy patrons, and lastly all the saints, that they may interceed for thee and help thee with their prayers and merits: thou shalt also recite these words, O Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that thou art my God and my Redeemer, and I firmly believe whatsoever the holy catholick church propounds to be believed, and profess that I will live and die in this faith. It

nus tuas Domine commendando spiritum meum, redemisti me. Domine Deus veritatis: tu me creasti Deus meus, tu me redemisti: Pater sanctissime totus sum tuus, fiat in me voluntas tua, illumina oculos meos, ne unquam obdormiam in morte. Beata Mariam invoces in auxiliatricem, dicendo, Maria mater gratiae, mater misericordie, tu nos ab hoste protege, & in hora mortis suscipe; invoces etiam sanctum Michaelen archangelum, & angelum custodem, & sanctos patronos, & denique omnes sanctos, ut intercedant pro te & adjuvent te suis suffragiis, & meritis: recites etiam hæc verba, Domine Jesu Christe, credo quod Deus meus & redemptor meus es tu, & credo firmiter quicquid sancta ecclesia catholica proponit credendum, & in hæc protestor me velle vivere & mori.

Domine

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Domine Jesu dolet mihi, quod tantam bonitatem offenderim, & dolet quod amplius non doleo de offensis contra te Creatorem & Salvatorum meum, cogitatione, verbo, & opere & omissione perpetratis, & humiliter peto mihi, condonari per sanguinem tuum quem pro mea salute profudisti. Et si quod oblitus sum vel non cognosco quod Majestatem tuam offenderit, de eo illuminari cupio & pœnitere; & interim de omnibus veniam peto. Omnibus qui me offenderunt ex corde meo, & similiter omnes offensas propter te dimitto, & si quem ego offendi, precor etiam veniam mihi dari, & si aliquid alicujus est apud me, volo satisfacere per hæredem meum omnibus quibus debeo,

*grieves me that I have offended so great goodness, and it grieves me that I can grieve no more for my offences committed against thee, my Creator and Saviour, in thought, word and deed, and by omission: and I humbly beseech thee to pardon me by thy blood, which thou hast poured out for my salvation; and if I have forgot any thing which hath offended thy Majesty, or do not know it, I desire to know it and repent it. And in the mean time I ask forgiveness of all, and likewise for thy sake do from my heart pass by all offences whereby others have offended me, also I pray them to forgive me, and if I have detained any thing from any man, my heirs shall make restitution to them to whom it is due.*

The

## HIS EXECUTION.

The copy of another paper, containing a direction for his devotion in his passage to and at the place of execution, sent from his ghostly father with the former.

*Jesus IHS Maria.*

In your passage to execution, remember as followeth,

To think on our Lord carrying his cross to Mount Calvario.

Or on the proper meditation against the devil's temptation.

Think that the pain is short, the reward eternal and everlasting.

*Have mercy on me,  
O God, &c.  
Lord not in thy wrath*

*Our Father.  
Hail Mary.  
In thee, O Lord, have  
I trusted, let me never  
be confounded in thy  
justice.*

*By the mystery of thy  
holy incarnation, O Lord  
deliver us.*

*Sanctifie me with the  
spirit of Christ.*

*Thou soughtest me be-  
ing weary.*

*I humbly pray.*

*Miserere mei Deus,  
&c.*

*Domine ne in fu-  
rore tuo.*

*The first penitential  
psalm.*

*Pater noster.*

*Ave Maria.*

*In te Domine spe-  
ravi, non confundar  
in æternum in tua jus-  
titia.*

*Per misterium sanc-  
te incarnationis tue  
libera nos Domine.*

*Anima Christi sanc-  
tifica me.*

*Quærens me sedisti  
lassus.*

*Oro supplex.*

*Sancti*

|                   |                                |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Sancti Angeli.    | <i>O holy Angels.</i>          |
| Sub tuum prædium  | <i>We fly to thee for aid,</i> |
| confugimus sancta | <i>O holy mother of God.</i>   |
| Dei genetrix.     |                                |
| Memento rerum     | <i>Remember, O Maker</i>       |
| conditor.         | <i>of all things.</i>          |

*Remember the promises of God, that none shall be tempted, &c. Call upon me in the days of, &c. Come to me all ye that be heavy, &c.*

*When you come to Newgate make your token for an absolution.*

*When you come to the place of execution, do as followeth.*

|                     |                              |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| O Domine Jesu       | <i>O Lord Jesus Christ</i>   |
| Christe adore te in | <i>I worship thee in the</i> |
| cruce, &c.          | <i>Cross.</i>                |
| Ave dulcis mater    | <i>Hail sweet mother of</i>  |
| Christi, &c.        | <i>Christ, &amp;c.</i>       |
| Domina mea sancta   | <i>O holy lady Mary.</i>     |
| Maria.              |                              |
| Nunc dimittis ser-  | <i>Lord now let thy ser-</i> |
| vum Domine.         | <i>vant depart, &amp;c.</i>  |
| Miserere mei Deus.  | <i>Have mercy on me, O</i>   |
|                     | <i>God.</i>                  |
| Quærens me sedisti  | <i>Thou soughtest me be-</i> |
| lassus.             | <i>ing weary.</i>            |
| Oro supplex & ac-   | <i>I humbly pray on my</i>   |
| clivis.             | <i>knees.</i>                |
| Tu fons misericor-  | <i>Thou art the foun-</i>    |
| diæ.                | <i>tain of mercy.</i>        |

*Pray for the church of Ireland, M. Greà, say, Jesus Maria three times for an indulgence, also a Pater and a Ave and Jesus Maria three times for the same end.*

*Then*



## HIS EXECUTION.

This was written but cross'd out again, and another paper pinn'd upon it, written in another manner, which also doth follow.

\* This paper was pinn'd upon that which was cross'd out.

Then make either of these tokens, stretch out your hands in form of a cross or (if you cannot do so) join them together before your breast, with a handkerchief, twisted about your hand (with sorrow for your sins, and earnestly desiring absolution of the church) and God will absolve you.

Before you make this token, settle on your desire, and say, I desire an absolution, &c. and say, *Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti*, I confess me to almighty God, and then make your token.

\* Then say, O Amabilissima bonitas! *Confiteor Deo*, with sorrow for your sins, and settle your heart earnestly to desire an absolution from the church (and I desire an absolution) make your token (or mark of lifting both your hands to your face, and letting fall your handkerchief, God will absolve you.

After that pray for your enemies and persecutors, and forgive them from the bottom of your heart.

Then willingly resign yourself wholly to the blessed will of God, and trust only to be saved by the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ,

Then say these Words following (publickly) that you may be heard.

" Since I am here to die, I desire to depart  
 " with a quiet mind, and with the marks of  
 " a good christian, that is asking forgiveness  
 " first of God, and next of the world. And  
 " I do forgive (from the bottom of my heart)  
 " all my enemies, offenders, even those that  
 " have had an hand in my death.

Say

# HIS EXECUTION.

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Say moreover.

“ I die a roman catholick, and although I  
 “ have been a great sinner, yet am I now (by  
 “ God’s grace) heartily sorry for all my sins.  
 “ And I do most confidently trust to be saved,  
 “ not by any of my own works, but only by  
 “ the passion, merits and mercy of my dear  
 “ saviour Jesus Christ, into whose hands I  
 “ commend my spirit.”

Offer all thy sufferings to our saviour in  
 union of what he suffered.

Lastly say,

*O lord Jesus Christ.*

*For that bitterness.*

*Thou soughtst me being  
 weary.*

*I humbly pray on my  
 knees.*

*Thou art the fountain  
 of mercy.*

*Domine Jesu Christe.*

*Propter illam amari-  
 tudinem.*

*Quærens me sedisti  
 lassus.*

*Oro supplex & ac-  
 clivis.*

*Tu fons misericordiæ.*

Resign yourself willingly and wholly to  
 God.

Upon the ladder make your sign for an  
 absolution, and say, I desire with all my heart  
 an absolution from my mother the catholick  
 church for my sins.

Sir Phelim Roe O Neale’s, patent to Brian  
 Mac-Guire, esq; to be governor of the coun-  
 ty of Fermanagh, dated the 10th of May,  
 1642.

**F**Orasmuch as for the great trust, confi-  
 dence, fidelity and circumspective, con-  
 scionable, righteous care and diligence we  
 repose in our trusty and well-beloved friend  
 and

## SIR PHELM ONEALE'S PATENT, &amp;c.

and cousin, Brian Mac-Cohonogh Mac-Guire, of Clanawley in the county of Fermanagh, esq; have by these presents constituted, nominated, ordained and appointed, like as by these our letters patents do constitute, nominate, ordain and appoint him the said Brian Mac-Cohonogh Mac-Guire, to be our governor, in and throughout the whole county of Fermanagh aforesaid, hereby granting and giving him full power and authority to execute, fulfil, perform and do, all such act and acts, thing and things whatsoever, to the place and office of governor any ways appertaining, as well for the common good, as for the upholding and maintaining of his majesty's prerogative, his crown and dignity. And the upholding and maintaining of the antient holy catholick Roman religion; hereby also ratifying, allowing and confirming all such act and acts, thing and things whatsoever, by our said governor done and performed, according to the true purport, meaning and intent of these our letters patents during our pleasure, in as ample and large manner as if we had done the same in our own proper person. Given under our hand and seal this eleventh day of May. Anno Dom. 1642.

PHELM ONEALE.

For Brian Mac-Cohonogh  
Mac-Guire, Governor of  
Fermanagh. These.

*Copia vera.*

WILLIAM COLE.

F I N I S.



